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ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM--ITS DYNAMICS AND STRUCTURE.

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TEACHER ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IS VIEWED AS A THREE-STAGE PROCESS--(1) ALIENATION AT THE SOCIAL AND NORMATIVE STRUCTURE LEVELS, (2) ALIENATION AS AN ATTITUDINAL TENDENCY, AND (3) ALIENATION AS REFLECTED IN BEHAVIOR. RESPONSE DATA WERE ANALYZED FROM A SELF-ADMINISTERED QUESTIONNAIRE DISTRIBUTED TO ALL TEACHERS IN THREE SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS, THREE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS, AND THREE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (TOTAL SAMPLE SIZE, 237 TEACHERS). FINDINGS GENERALLY SUPPORTED 43 MINOR HYPOTHESES AND CONFIRMED THE STUDY'S TWO MAJOR HYPOTHESES THAT SYSTEM STATES OF BOTH OVERCONTROL AND UNDERCONTROL RESULT IN ALIENATION. ON THE ATTITUDINAL AND BEHAVIORAL LEVEL, IT WAS FOUND THAT FEELINGS OF ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM ARE REFLECTED IN TEACHER PERFORMANCE. COLUMN PERCENTAGES AND CHI SQUARE CORRELATIONS ARE TABULATED FOR 53 INDEPENDENT VARIABLES, RELATING TEACHER ALIENATION TO VARIOUS COMPONENTS OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM, INCLUDING THE SCHOOL BOARD, TEACHER PEERS, PRINCIPALS, THE COMMUNITY, COMMUNICATION PATTERNS, SCHOOL SIZE, STAFF COHESIVENESS, TEACHING PRACTICE, AND EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES. THIS MATERIAL WAS SUBMITTED AS A DISSERTATION TO THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, 1966, AND IS ALSO AVAILABLE FROM UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48103, (MICROFILM NUMBER 66-14,483) FOR $3.00 MF, $6.40 XEROGRAPHY. (JK)

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ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM: ITS DYNAMICS AND STRUCTURE

by

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Part I

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The basic problem of the present research can be put in the form of two sets of questions.

First, one may inquire to what extent there is a relationship between a school's bureaucratic structure and teachers' alienation from that school.[1] What happens when teachers are expected to fit into the school system rather than change it? In what ways, if any, are impersonal or formal peer relationships related to alienation? What happens when there are great demands on teachers by peers, principals, the community, and others to conform and refrain from dealing with controversial issues? What happens when teachers cannot influence what goes on at school?

The above questions amount to the same thing; they are concerned with special instances of the proposition that overcontrol, overintegration, or great emphasis on molding man into some kind of a bureaucratized system is likely to be related to alienation from that system.

The second set of questions is the following: Is a state of normlessness related to feelings of alienation? What happens when teachers feel that some of the school regulations have to be disregarded if they desire to accomplish their goals? What happens when they are not sure where they stand or on whom to count? How do teachers feel when they realize that they occupy conflicting roles? What happens when expectations are inconsistent, and goals are unclear?

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[1] For a detailed conceptual definition of alienation see pp. 15-18. Simply, alienation refers to feelings of dissatisfaction, powerlessness, isolation, and non-involvement.

Such questions also amount to the same thing; they are concerned with special instances of the proposition that undercontrol or a state of normlessness is likely to be related to alienation from the school system.

These two propositions constitute the main targets of the present research; they may be thought of as representing the opposite poles of the same continuum, or as two sides of a dilemma that has rarely been systematically investigated, but has been recognized in many areas and on various levels of analysis. This dilemma is in one sense an aspect of a larger issue to which a number of investigators addressed themselves, namely, the relationship of the individual and society. In the area of suicide, and on a societal level, Durkheim points out that so far as we are cohesively attached to a group, we are exposed to its influence and that so far as we have a distinct personality we are likely to rebel against it, and then adds:

> Since everyone leads this sort of double existence simultaneously, each of us has a double impulse.... Two antagonistic forces confront each other. One, the collective force, tries to take possession of the individual; the other, the individual force, repulses it (1951, p. 319).

Working on a personality level of analysis, G. Allport thinks that one of the limitations of contemporary theories in the area of socialization and becoming is that they deal with the "mirror-like character" of personality and not also with its "creative becoming".

> All his life long [one] will be attempting to reconcile these two modes of becoming, the tribal and the personal: the one that makes him into a mirror, the other that lights the lamp of individuality within (1955, p. 35).

A third explicit recognition is made by D. Cartwright and R. Lippitt who are concerned with group dynamics and influences of group participation. They view conformity and anomie as representing the two sides of the coin and that both of them are common today:

> We seem, then, to face a dilemma: The individual needs social support for his values and social beliefs; he needs to be accepted as a valued member of some group which he values; failure to maintain such group membership produces anxiety and personal disorganization. But, on the other hand, group membership and group participation tend to cost the individual his individuality (1957, pp. 90-91).

Finally, Cooley who was concerned with social interaction emphasized both aspects. On the one hand, he recognized that "there is no individual apart from society, no freedom apart from organization" (1956b, p. 47), and that it is "by intercourse with others that we expand our inner experience" (1956a, p. 104). On the other hand, he asserts that "to lose the sense of a separate, productive, resisting self, would be to melt and merge and cease to be" (1956a, p. 245).

Undercontrol and alienation

Simply, undercontrol refers to states of normlessness, uncertainty about goals, and/or lack of cohesive interpersonal relationships in a society or a social system. In other words, it refers to a state of socialization in a disintegrated and atomized society. Norms and values are relative, ambiguous, conflicting, and nonbinding. When Nietzsche announced the death of God he was trying to express concern with the collapse of systems of values. Similarly, Durkheim meant to show concern with the breakdown of systems of social control or what he called the state of "anomie". He was particularly concerned with lack of regulation of man's desires and aspirations. Durkheim distinguished between physical and social needs. While physical needs can be automatically regulated by man's organic structure, social needs are unlimited and uncontrollable. Man's desires for gratification of such social needs become "an insatiable and bottomless abyss". Since the society may be unable to provide the appropriate means for the gratification of these needs, a state of anomie is likely to result. In other words, Durkheim viewed anomie as a state of dissociation of cultural goals and institutionalized means.

Since then, and as will be shown later, a lot of theoretical and empirical studies have been concerned with anomie. A number of these studies show that such a state of undercontrol or anomie results in alienation. W. Kornhauser, for instance, tells us that "social atomization engenders strong feelings of alienation" (1959, p. 32). Cartwright and Lippitt also point out that those

> who have no effective participation in groups with clear and strong value systems either crack up (as in alcoholism or suicide) or they seek out groups which will demand conformity (1957, p. 91).

The shift from a primary to a secondary type of group relationships marks a substantial change in the degree of intensity and intimacy of participation in group and community life. As a result "the individual inevitably experiences a sense of void, of emptiness, where his father knew the joy of comradeship and security" (Mayo, 1945, p. 76). A dominant condition of contemporary man is what might be called the "Tantalusian condition" or being close to, and far from others at the same time. People in urban communities are close only as physical things. Their closeness is one of collision rather than relatedness.

Overcontrol and alienation

Overcontrol may be defined as a state of socialization in a society, a group, or an organizational system characterized by great demand for conformity and discouragement of dissent. Such a state of socialization is viewed as a potential source of alienation, because the emphasis is put on molding the individual into the system. Karl Jaspers raises the question of whether man can preserve his identity and freedom in a system dominated by bureaucratization, and goes on to assert that the individual

> refuses to allow himself to be absorbed into a life-order (1951, p. 42).

G. Allport expresses the same notion in similar terms:

> From the very start of his life he [man] is resistant to the smothering effects of his social environment (1955, p. 34).

Durkheim was concerned with the consequences of undercontrol rather than overcontrol. But he was not unaware of the problem:

> If...excessive individuation leads to suicide, insufficient individuation has the same effects. When man has become detached from society, he encounters less resistance to suicide in himself, and he does so likewise when social integration is too strong (1951, p. 217).

Another consequence of overcontrol is loss of individuality and creativity. Still another consequence is the development of masks and face compliance rather than internalization and identification. Thus, one would behave as a role rather than as a person. Existentialists as Heidegger, Sartre, Camus, and several contemporary social scientists and intellectuals in general describe the quest of man to throw off all false masks; they assert that conformity contributes to man's losing contact with himself and sinking into unauthenticity.

However, overcontrol might be accepted by the individuals concerned. They may resign themselves to a church, a state, a party, a community, or some kind of a total institution. They may do that in the name of certain objectives or ideological principles, and still feel happy and satisfied. But even in such situations, protest might be expected in some critical moments in the history of such total systems. Protestantism might be considered one such historical instance. Even when no protest or rebellion occurs, some strains are expected. Murray Weingarten points out that the problem in Israeli Kibbutzim is not how to achieve solidarity but how to preserve individual freedom and creativity in a highly cohesive group. He shows that solidarity is achieved but not without strain because of the great demands for conformity and the restrictions placed on individual expression. Similarly, William H. Whyte in The Organization Man makes it clear that the individual pays heavy prices for solidarity. Rollo May reported that one of his patients expressed his plight this way:

> I am just a collection of mirrors, reflecting what everyone else expects of me (1953, p. 15).

Social scientists and others have argued that undercontrol is related to alienation, and many of them were able to show that disintegration, lack of participation in groups, and absence of well-defined systems of values and norms resulted in alienation. But what is overlooked by contemporary social scientists, as Dennis H. Wrong points out, is that conformists may be more subject to guilt and neurosis than non-conformists. Wrong bases his argument on the proposition of Freud that those with strict superegos are the ones who are most wracked with neurosis. A research team consisting of J. W. Eaton and R. J. Weil, *et al*. undertook an intensive study of the mental health of Hutterites, a remarkably cohesive religious sect. They found a high proportion of manic-depressive cases relative to cases of schizophrenia. According to this research team, such a finding provides further evidence of the theory that manic-depressive symptoms are usually found among those who conform rigidly to social expectations. In general, then, the individual tends to preserve his individuality and resist attempts made to level him down even when he is powerless. This is exactly what Simmel tried to say:

> The individual has become a mere cog in an enormous organization of things.... He has to exaggerate this personal element in order to remain audible even to himself (1950, p. 422).

To summarize, the present dissertation is concerned with a dilemma that has its roots in man's needs to conform to social expectations and be independent at the same time. An attempt will be made to examine the relations of states of overcontrol and undercontrol at the school system level to teachers' alienation from that system.

CHAPTER II

THEORY AND MEANING OF ALIENATION

Contemporary social sciences, philosophy, and arts seem to be increasingly concerned with man's alienation from his work, political and social systems, society and the world at large, and even from himself. In spite of this concern, there is a lack of agreement on what the concept of alienation really means.

Among others, Melvin Seeman addressed himself to the task of differentiating the various meanings or conceptualizations of alienation. He distinguishes five ways of defining this concept.

First, alienation has been defined by a number of investigators as a state or an experience of powerlessness. Seeman defined powerlessness as "the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks" (1959, p. 784). Powerlessness as defined by Seeman is a cognitive or a psychological experience. Such a conception dates back to Hegel's notion of mind being "at war with itself". He viewed powerlessness as the opposite of freedom. The question for Hegel was whether or not man has control over his own creations and tools. The German philosopher Feuerbach viewed man as powerless because he is contolled by his own creations in that he worships his own projections. Man is powerless because he projects the best of himself onto some external object and worships it. The subject, i.e., man, becomes an object, and the object, God, for instance, becomes the subject.

Marx borrowed this concept from Hegel and conceived it as a condition of labor. He conceived work, a creation of man, as external to the worker and in control of his destiny. Consequently, the worker

> ...does not fulfill himself in his work but denies himself, has a feeling of misery, not of well-being ...in work he does not belong to himself but another person...The more the worker expends himself in work, the more powerful becomes the world of objects which he creates in face of himself, and the poorer he himself becomes in his inner life, the less he belongs to himself (Bottomore, 1956, pp. 169-171).

Weber countered the Marxian thesis that powerlessness is a condition of labor as an isolated phenomenon, and generalized it to all social relations in Western societies. He tells us, for instance, that the scientist is separated from his means of inquiry and research which are controlled by large research organizations. Similarly, the soldier can be viewed as separated from, and lacking control over his means of violence.

C. W. Mills shows concern with powerlessness as a dominant condition in bureaucratic organizations. He observes that the individual is increasingly confronted with remote organizations and feels helpless before the managerial cadres.

More recently, R. Blauner studied conditions of powerlessness, among other variants of alienation, in a number of industries. He differentiated four modes of industrial powerlessness. These modes are "(1) the separation from ownership of the means of production and the finished products, (2) the inability to influence general managerial policies, (3) the lack of control over the conditions of employment, and (4) the lack of control over the immediate work process" (1964, p. 16). Other recent theoretical and empirical studies by such investigators as D. Dean, Horton and Thompson, Neal and Rettig, Neal and Seeman. L. Pearlim, Riesman and Glazer, and others have used powerlessness as a major perspective on political and industrial alienation.

The second way of defining alienation, according to Seeman, is meaninglessness. He defined meaninglessness as "a low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior can be made," (1959, p. 786) and indicated that the clearest contemporary examples are found in Adorno's treatment of prejudice, and in Cantril's diagnosis of social movements.

Adorno, G. Allport, J. R. Gusfield, A. H. Roberts and M. Rokeach, and L. Srole, to mention a few, suggest that alienation is an important determinant of prejudice. An alienated person is likely to blame others for his distress. In other words, others serve as a scapegoat.

Similarly, investigators like H. Cantril, H. Arendt, K. Mannheim, R. Merton, K. Kornhauser, E. Fromm, and others suggest that alienation generates in man an acute need to believe and, consequently, to join extreme religious, political, or social movements.

Others as R. MacIver, and K. Keniston investigated various aspects of man's search for a meaningful life. R. MacIver, for instance, concerned himself with conditions of "great emptiness" and "purposelessness" in contemporary Western societies. Keniston points out that utopia is declining in modern times. He asserts that the world of directness, synthesis, symmetry, growth, wholeness, integration, and cooperation is being replaced by a world of abstraction, analysis, asymmetry, regression, specialization, disintegration, and competition. Thus,

> hopeful visions of the future, idealism and utopias become increasingly rare and difficult. In short, the direction of cultural change is from commitment and enthusiasm to alienation and apathy (1960, p. 162).

Blauner points out that "bureaucratic structures seem to encourage feelings of meaninglessness" (1964, p. 22) in that the employee tends to lack a sense of purpose in his work. To support this thesis, Blauner refers to K. Mannheim who described meaninglessness in terms of tension between "functional rationalization" and "substantial rationality". The first "refers to the idea that in a modern organization everything is geared to the highest efficiency" (1964, p. 22). The purpose and rationale of the organization is comprehended only by the few top managers and engineers. As to the substantial rationality of employees or ordinary members, it seems to be declining. These "need not know how their own small task fits into the entire operation" (1964, p. 22). Consequently, there is a decline in the "capacity to act intelligently in a given situation on the basis of one's own insight into the inter-relations of events" (Mannheim, 1940, p. 59). In other words, meaninglessness is seen by Mannheim, and Blauner as a lack of understanding on the part of the employee of the relationship of his contribution to the enterprise as a whole or to the broader life program.

The third way of defining alienation is normlessness. Seeman defined normlessness as a "high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals" (1959, p. 787). As pointed out earlier, Durkheim used the concept of anomie to refer to a condition of normlessness. However, he made it clear that anomie is a group or social property, not an individual property. R. Merton attempted to develop this conceptualization by viewing it as a dissociation between culturally prescribed goals and socially structured means or avenues for realizing these goals. R. Cloward and others found this definition helpful in explaining deviant behavior.

The fourth way of defining alienation is isolation. This was defined by Seeman as the assignment of a "low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society" (1959, p. 789). Alienation in this sense involves loneliness, nonbelonging, noninvolvement, nonidentification, etc. M. Grodzins, R. Blauner, J. R. Gusfield, and E. Goffman, to mention a few, defined alienation in terms of these ingredients. Members of an organization may be unable to relate to each other or feel close; each lives in his own private world.

To R. Blauner, for instance, isolation "means that the worker feels no sense of belonging in the work situation and is unable to identify or uninterested in identifying with the organization and its goals" (1964, p. 24).

The final way of defining alienation is self-estrangement. Here, alienation is defined by Seeman as a high degree of dependence of the given behavior upon anticipated future rewards, upon rewards that lie outside the activity itself. Seeman thinks that the most extended treatment of this conceptualization is found in Fromm's The Sane Society, where alienation is viewed as a mode of experience in which one perceives himself as an alien to, and unable to be himself. Riesman's notion of the other-directed serves as an illustration. Being other-directed, a person loses contact with himself and "sinks into unauthenticity".

Blauner, like Marx and Fromm, points out that "the worker may become alienated from his inner self in the activity of work" (1964, p. 26), because he cannot find intrinsic gratification in his work. In other words, work is primarily instrumental. The worker cannot experience personal growth, because his work is not creatively fulfilling in itself. Self-estrangement must exist where there is awareness of a great discrepancy between ideal and actual self-images.

Seeman's attempt to differentiate these five ways of defining alienation suffers from a number of limitations.

In the first place, his analysis is at the psychological level only. Alienation is viewed as a cognitive condition of the individual without being clearly related to the social and normative structures of the social system. So far as the present research is concerned, feelings of alienation will be related to the social and normative structures of the school system. An attempt will be made to study the relationship between social structure and teachers' personal experience of alienation cognitively as well as emotionally. It is suggested that the way teachers perceive the school organizational climate is closely connected with whether or not they experience feelings of powerlessness, isolation, noninvolvement, and dissatisfaction.

In the second place, Seeman makes no distinction between what is a source of alienation, alienation proper, and a consequence of alienation. Powerlessness in a social system, for instance, may be viewed as a source of alienation rather than alienation proper. The reason is that powerlessness at the social structural level does not necessarily result in alienation at the cognitive level. The true Buddhist or Muslim who accepts his powerlessness and perceives his acceptance as a virtue is not alienated at the cognitive level. This is probably what prompted Marx to describe religion as the "opium of peoples". Religion, as he conceived it, "keeps men from coming to true self-consciousness of themselves, of their positions in society, and of their true interests as men" (Mills, p. 25). This does not mean, however, that the effect is unidirectional. Though the social structure can be considered a source of feelings of alienation, such feelings can influence the way the social structure is perceived. In other words, the relationship between perceived social structure and feelings of alienation is rather circular.

In the third place, Seeman makes no distinction between general alienation and specific alienation. It may be contended that alienation from society or the world at large is different from alienation from a certain specific system such as a school. In a number of recent studies on alienation it has been argued that most of the scales devised to measure alienation have not been directed toward measuring feelings and conditions of alienation in specific situations or specific organizations. A relevant task would be to know to what extent alienation from the school system, for instance, is independent from alienation from society or the world at large. It is expected that some relationship exists between the two. One can argue that general alienation would influence the degree of alienation from the school system and vice versa. Blauner suggests that "the nature of a man's work affects his social character and personality, the manner in which he participates or fails to participate as a citizen in the larger community, and his overall sense of worth and dignity" (1964, p. viii).

In order to avoid the above limitations, alienation from the school system will be viewed as a process consisting of three main stages. These are (1) alienation at the social and normative structures; (2) alienation as an attitudinal tendency; and (3) alienation as reflected in actual behavior.

In this study, the first stage involves the social and normative structures of the school system. At the social structure level, feelings of alienation will be related to (a) centralization of power in the administration or states of powerlessness, (b) lack of cohesiveness, (c) impersonal relationships, and (d) lack of participation in group life. At the normative structure level, feelings of alienation will be related to (a) great demand for conformity, (b) states of normlessness, (c) unclarity of objectives, (d) permissiveness, and (e) conflicting roles.

However, it should be pointed out that members of an organization can accept conditions of powerlessness, overcontrol, and impersonal relations for different reasons. It was shown above that a true Buddhist or Muslim would accept his powerlessness and view such an acceptance as a virtue. Others might view great demand for conformity as a necessary condition for the functioning of the system. Consequently, such members need not be alienated under conditions of powerlessness and overcontrol. The necessary prerequisite for alienation in such situations is a perceived discrepancy between what is actual and what is possibly desirable or ideal. The greater the discrepancy between what is actual and what is ideal, the greater the alienation. Those who are powerless in an organization but would like to have some power are expected to be more alienated than those who accept their powerlessness. Thus, stress will be both on social and normative structures as well as on the discrepancies between such actual and ideal structures.

The second stage is alienation proper and is viewed as an attitudinal tendency. Simply, it is experiencing relatively endurable feelings of powerlessness, isolation, noninvolvement, dissatisfaction, etc. In essence, an alienated person is dissatisfied, and consequently, tends to reject the dominant value systems, objectives, patterns of relationships of the society or organization of which he is a member. The feeling of dissatisfaction is followed or accompanied by rejection of the dominant value systems of an organization, group, or society. The alienated cannot feel very much at home in the social system he is a part of, and conforms, if at all, only out of compliance rather than out of identification or internalization.

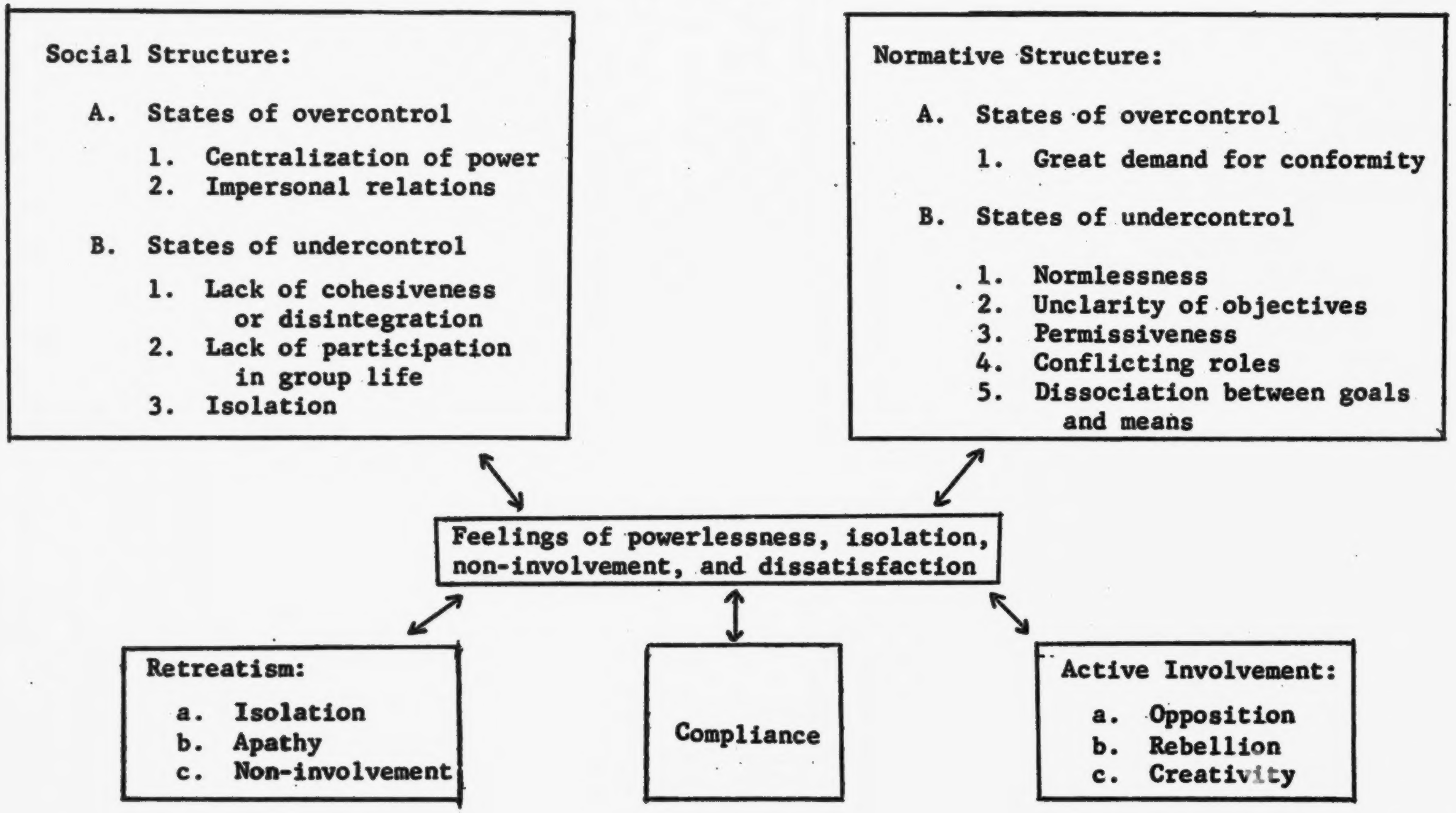
The third stage of alienation is sought at the behavioral level. Dissatisfaction and rejection of the dominant value systems of the organization may be portrayed in certain types of behavior which may, for analytical purposes, be viewed on a retreatism-involvement dimension. An alienated person, on this level, may either retreat from, or comply with, or act upon the social system. On one end of the continuum we find those alienated people who choose to retreat from the system. This retreatism is reflected in isolation, apathy, noninvolvement, avoidance, etc. On the other end of the continuum, we find those alienated people who choose to engage in activities and practices aimed at changing the system. Such engagement may be reflected in active involvement, opposition, resistance, protest, rebellion, creativity, etc. In between, we find those who comply publicly rather than privately. Because they cannot internalize or identify with the value systems of the organization or group, they may leave the field at any time.

The above three stages of alienation from the school system may be diagrammed as in Figure 1.

As seen in the following diagram, the different stages act upon each other. That is why it is difficult to point out clearly the direction of causation. Because of the existence of circularity, the present research will be concerned mainly with degree of relationship between these stages rather than with the direction of causation.

FIGURE 1

STAGES OF ALIENATION


Social Structure:
A. States of overcontrol
1. Centralization of power
2. Impersonal relations
B. States of undercontrol
1. Lack of cohesiveness or disintegration
2. Lack of participation in group life
3. Isolation
Normative Structure:
A. States of overcontrol
1. Great demand for conformity
B. States of undercontrol
1. Normlessness
2. Unclarity of objectives
3. Permissiveness
4. Conflicting roles
5. Dissociation between goals and means
Feelings of powerlessness, isolation, non-involvement, and dissatisfaction
Retreatism:
a. Isolation
b. Apathy
c. Non-involvement
Compliance
Active Involvement:
a. Opposition
b. Rebellion
c. Creativity

CHAPTER III

HYPOTHESES AND VARIABLES

Two tasks will be undertaken in this chapter. In the first place, an attempt will be made to define the sets of variables under study. Second, the expected relationships between these variables and alienation will be spelled out. Detailed description of operationalization and measurement will be the main concern of chapter IV.

I. Overcontrol and Feelings of Alienation

Overcontrol can be defined in terms of degree of bureaucratization. The social structure of a school system will be considered highly bureaucratized when characterized by a high degree of (a) centralization of power in the administration or lack of teachers' participation in decision making, (b) demand for conformity and discouragement of dissent, and (c) formalized or impersonal relationships.

Centralization of power

The degree of centralization of power will be determined by the extent to which teachers are influential in determining the educational matters at school relative to the principal, the superintendent, and the school board (see pp. 37-38).

Various ways of looking at centralization of power, and the power structure in general, will be attempted. First, an attempt will be made to examine the relationship between teachers' personal influence (perceived and actual) and their feelings of alienation. Here, the following hypotheses are proposed.

Hypothesis 1a. The more teachers think they are personally influential in determining educational matters, the less alienated they are from the school system.

Hypothesis 1b. The greater the actual influence of teachers in determining educational matters, the less alienated they are from the school system.

How teachers' perception of the amount of influence their colleagues in general have might be related to their feelings of alienation is stated in the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1c. The more influence teachers think their colleagues in general have, the less alienated they are from the school system.

Next, the researcher will examine the relationship between teachers' perception of the amount of influence the principal has and their feelings of alienation. It is expected that teachers would like the principal to have some influence relative to the superintendent. The principal can be seen as a potentially supportive linking-pin in that he might promote teachers' points of view and put limits to the interference of the superintendent and the school board. The principal is likely to be seen also as closer to teachers than any other administrator. However, teachers are not likely to approve of the idea that the principal should have more influence than they do. Thus, the researcher would like to suggest the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1d. The more influence teachers think their principal has relative to the superintendent, the less alienated they are from the school system.

Hypothesis 1e. The more influence teachers think their principal has relative to them, the more alienated they are from the school system.

Hypothesis 1f. In schools where the principal thinks the school board has more influence than he does, there is more alienation than in schools where he thinks the school board has less influence than he does.

With respect to the relationship between teachers' perception of the amount of influence the superintendent has and their feelings of alienation, the following hypothesis will be tested.

Hypothesis 1g. The more influence teachers think their superintendent has relative to them, the more alienated they are from the school system.

Next, the relationship between teachers' perception of the amount of influence the school board has in determining educational matters and their feelings of alienation will be examined. The researcher will test the hypothesis below.

Hypothesis 1h. The more influence teachers think their school board has relative to them, the more alienated they are from the school system.

Because the present researcher thinks that feelings of alienation have their roots in the gap between what is actual and what is ideal, he would like to test the hypotheses listed below.

Hypothesis 2a. The greater the discrepancy between the amount of influence teachers think they have personally in determining educational matters and the amount of influence they think they should have, the greater their alienation from the school system.

Hypothesis 2b. The greater the discrepancy between the amount of influence teachers think their colleagues have in determining educational matters and the amount of influence they think their colleagues should have, the greater their alienation from the school system.

Hypothesis 2c. The greater the discrepancy between the amount of influence teachers think the principal has in determining educational matters and the amount of influence they think he should have, the greater their alienation from the school system.

Hypothesis 2d. The greater the discrepancy between the amount of influence teachers think the superintendent has in determining educational matters and the amount of influence they think he should have, the greater their alienation from the school system.

Hypothesis 2e. The greater the discrepancy between the amount of influence teachers think the school board has in determining educational matters and the amount of influence they think it should have, the greater their alienation from the school system.

Now, for further inspection of the relationship of centralization of power to feelings of alienation, a more general and pervasive index of the former variable will be used (see p. 33). Specifically, the following hypotheses are proposed.

Hypothesis 3a. The more teachers think there is centralization of decision-making in the office of the principal, the more alienated they are from the school system.

Hypothesis 3b. In schools where the majority of teachers agree that there is high centralization of power in the principal's office, there is greater alienation than in the rest of the schools.

Demand for conformity

Demand for conformity is defined in terms of (a) exposure of teachers to community pressures, (b) general expectations that teachers should adjust to the school system rather than change it, and (c) discouragement of dissent (see p. 38). The last two will be collapsed into one index of general demand for conformity.

Regarding the relationship between exposure of teachers to community pressures and their feelings of alienation from the school system, the following hypotheses will be tested.

Hypothesis 4a. The more teachers think there is community pressure on them to conform, the more alienated they are from the school system.

Hypothesis 4b. In schools where the majority of teachers agree that there is community pressure on them to conform, there is more alienation than in schools where there is no such agreement.

With respect to the relationship between general demand for conformity and discouragement of dissent and feelings of alienation, the researcher would like to suggest the hypotheses below.

Hypothesis 5a. The more teachers feel there is general demand on them to conform, the more alienated they are from the school system.

Hypothesis 5b. In schools where the majority of teachers agree that there is general demand on them to conform, there is more alienation than in schools where there is no such agreement.

Hypothesis 5c. In schools where the principals think there is general demand on teachers to conform, there is more alienation than in the rest of the schools.

Formalized or impersonal relationships

The final characteristic of bureaucratization to be considered here is peer impersonal relationships and teacher-principal impersonal relations (see p. 39).

So far as peer impersonal relationships are concerned, the researcher will test the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 6a. The more teachers feel that peer relationships are impersonal, the more alienated they are from the school system.

Hypothesis 6b. In schools where the majority of teachers agree that peer relationships are impersonal, there is more alienation than in schools where there is no such agreement.

In order to find out whether or not teacher-principal impersonal relations are related to feelings of alienation, the following hypotheses are proposed.

Hypothesis 7a. The more teachers feel that their relationships with the principal are impersonal, the more alienated they are from the school system.

Hypothesis 7b. In schools where the majority of teachers agree that principal-teacher relationships are impersonal, there is more alienation than in schools where there is no such agreement.

Hypothesis 7c. In schools where the principals think that teacher-principal relationships are impersonal, there is more alienation than in schools where principals think that such relationships are personal.

II. Undercontrol and Feelings of Alienation

Earlier, undercontrol was defined in terms of states of normlessness, uncertainty about goals, and/or lack of cohesive interpersonal relationships in a society or a social system. Specifically, in the present study, undercontrol will be characterized by (a) normlessness at school, (b) uncertainty about the educational objectives and orientations of the school, (c) lack of cohesiveness, (d) principal's permissiveness, (e) dissociation of means and goals, and (f) teachers' occupancy of conflicting roles.

However, before stating the hypotheses pertaining to each of the above characteristics of undercontrol, the researcher would like to bring into the picture two variables which might be considered indirectly relevant for both propositions of overcontrol and undercontrol.

Teacher's position in the school social structure

Reference is made here to the perceived as well as the actual position of each teacher in patterns of interpersonal relations at school. In other words, a teacher can be an isolate, a member of a dyad or triad, or occupy a central or peripheral position in the school social structure.

With regard to the relationship between position in the social structure and feelings of alienation, the following hypotheses can be suggested.

Hypothesis 8a. Teachers who think of themselves as isolates are more alienated than those who think of themselves as members of dyads or triads, and these in turn are more alienated than those who think of themselves as occupying central positions.

Hypothesis 8b. The more teachers are communicated with by peers about teaching, the less alienated they are from the school system.

Hypothesis 8c. The more teachers are liked by their peers, the less alienated they are from the school system.

Size of the school

The size of the school will be determined by the number of teachers. The expected relationship between the size of the school and teachers' feelings of alienation is stated in the hypothesis below.

Hypothesis 9. The greater the size of the school, the greater the alienation of teachers from the school system.

Specific normlessness

Specific normlessness refers to the conditions of rules and regulations at school. The degree of specific normlessness will be determined by the extent to which teachers feel that some school regulations have to be disregarded (see p. 41-42). The expected relationship between specific normlessness and feelings of alienation from the school system is stated in the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 10a. The more teachers think there is a state of normlessness at school, the more alienated they are from the school system.

Hypothesis 10b. In schools where the majority of teachers agree that there is a state of normlessness at school, there is more alienation than in schools where there is no such agreement.

Uncertainty about educational objectives

This characteristic of undercontrol refers to the degree of teachers' agreement regarding the primary objectives toward which effort should be put (see p. 44-45), and the educational orientations which are emphasized in their schools (see p. 43-44). Lack of agreement is expected to be related to feelings of alienation as suggested in the hypotheses below.

Hypothesis 11a. In schools where the majority of teachers agree regarding the primary objectives toward which efforts should be put in their school system, there is less alienation than in schools where there is no such agreement.

Hypothesis 11b. In schools where the majority of teachers agree regarding the aspects of education which are actually emphasized at school, there is less alienation than in schools where there is no such agreement.

Cohesiveness of interpersonal relationships

The degree to which teachers' relationships are cohesive (see p. 39) is expected to be inversely related to the extent to which teachers are alienated from the school system.

It is expected also that a diffuse pattern of relationships where the majority of teachers are nominated on sociometric instruments is related to the degree of alienation from the school system differently from a central pattern where few teachers are nominated (see p. 41).

Hypothesis 12a. Teachers who see staff relationships as cohesive are less alienated than those who see them as disintegrated or in conflict.

Hypothesis 12b. In schools where there is a diffuse pattern of communication, there is less alienation than in schools where such a pattern is central.

Hypothesis 12c. In schools where there is a diffuse pattern of attraction, there is less alienation than in schools where such a pattern is central.

Principal's permissiveness

This characteristic of undercontrol refers to a low degree of principal's supportiveness of teachers or lack of concern with their problems. A principal who is non-supportive and unconcerned might be as alienating as a principal who tends to centralize power in his office.

Hypothesis 13a. The more teachers think their principal is supportive, the less alienated they are from the school system.

Hypothesis 13b. In schools where the majority of teachers agree that the principal is supportive, there is less alienation than in schools where there is no such agreement.

Dissociation of means and goals

R. Merton (1957) defined anomie in terms of dissociation between cultural goals and institutionalized means. In this study, it is expected that dissociation between means and goals as determined by discrepancies between actual and desired educational orientations and actual and desired classroom climates (see p. 42) is likely to be related to feelings of alienation.

Hypothesis 14a. The greater the discrepancy between actual and desired educational orientations, the greater the alienation from the school system.

Hypothesis 14b. The greater the discrepancy between actual and desired classroom climates, the greater the alienation from the school system.

Teachers' occupancy of conflicting roles

This final characteristic of undercontrol refers to teachers' perception of conflicts in a number of activities in their life spaces, i.e., conflicts in teachers' roles in such areas as education, religion politics, family, recreation, etc.

Hypothesis 15. Teachers who see themselves as occupying conflicting roles are more alienated from the school system than those who do not see themselves as occupying such roles.

III. Alienation at the Behavioral Level

In the remaining sections of this chapter, the researcher will attempt to propose a number of hypotheses regarding the relationship between teachers' performance and their feelings of alienation, and between general and specific types of alienation.

So far as the reflection of feelings of alienation in teachers' performance, the present investigator is concerned with the extent to which teachers engage in adoption and innovation of teaching practices for the improvement of pupils' learning. A distinction will be made later (see p. 45) between adoption, adaptation, and innovation of teaching practices depending on the extent to which the significant practices they had been using were borrowed and used with or without being modified or were original with them. Specifically, the following hypotheses are expected to be true.

Hypothesis 16a. There is a positive relationship between alienation and non-adoption of teaching practices.

Hypothesis 16b. There is a curvilinear relationship between alienation and adoption of teaching practices.

Hypothesis 16c. There is a negative relationship between alienation and adaptation of teaching practices.

Hypothesis 16d. There is a curvilinear relationship between alienation and innovation of teaching practices.

Hypothesis 16e. There is a negative relationship between alienation and intention of returning to the same school.

Hypothesis 16f. There is a negative relationship between alienation and serving on committees at school.

The reason the present researcher suggested a curvilinear relationship in hypotheses 16b and 16d is the supposition on his part that some degree of alienation might motivate teachers to act upon their school system for the purpose of changing it. On the other hand, those who are non-alienated might be too secure and satisfied to try anything. So far as the highly alienated teachers, they might be more inclined to withdraw from the system than to act upon it.

With respect to the expected relationship between general (i.e., alienation from society or the world at large) and specific (i.e., alienation from the school) types of alienation, the following hypotheses will be tested.

Hypothesis 17a. There is a positive relationship between alienation from the school system and general alienation.

Hypothesis 17b. There is a positive relationship between alienation from the school system and general normlessness.

Finally, the degree of alienation from the school system will be related to a number of personal characteristics such as sex, age, race, marital status, education, etc.

CHAPTER IV

METHOD

The present research is a part of a project conducted at the Center for Research on the Utilization of Scientific Knowledge at the University of Michigan. This research project was initiated by Ronald Lippitt, Robert Fox, and Richard Schmuck for the purpose of studying some of the forces which facilitate and hinder the processes of adoption, innovation, and diffusion of classroom practices. During the spring of 1965, a survey was conducted in three school systems consisting of three senior high schools, three junior high schools, and fifteen elementary schools. A self-administered questionnaire was distributed to all teachers in all three school systems. For the purpose of this dissertation all three senior high schools, all three junior high schools, and only three out of fifteen elementary schools will be included. Table 1 shows the number and level of the schools, the number of teachers, as well as the distribution of various personal characteristics.

The Measurement of Concepts

In the last two chapters the major variables were conceptually defined. At this point, more specific or operational definitions will be made, and the instruments used to measure the various concepts will be described.

Alienation from the school system. The instrument used to measure alienation from the school system includes nine items. For validation purposes each of these items was submitted to five sociologists and

TABLE 1

THE SAMPLE[2]

	Senior High Schools	Junior High Schools	Elementary Schools	Total
Number of schools	3	3	3	9
Number of teachers	116	80	41	237
Sex distribution				
Males	56	36	3	93
Females	60	44	38	141
Race distribution				
White	109	75	39	223
Negro	4	1	2	7
Mongoloid	0	1	0	1
Marital status				
Married	92	52	30	164
Single	13	17	8	38
Divorced	6	7	2	15
Widowed	1	1	1	3
Religious preference				
Protestants	62	53	27	132
Catholics	22	5	6	33
Jews	2	4	1	7
Others	12	1	1	14
Tenure				
Yes	75	44	25	144
No	35	32	15	82

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[2] Note that non-respondents are not reported in this table.

psychologists at the Institute for Social Research who were requested to judge what items measured feelings of powerlessness, isolation, non-involvement in activities that go on at school, and dissatisfaction. There was one hundred percent agreement among the five sociologists and psychologists. These nine items were presented to subjects as statements which described the feelings of some teachers, and they were asked to indicate on a four-point scale whether they almost always, often, sometimes, or very seldom felt this way:

1. I do things at school that I wouldn't do if it were up to me.
2. I have a lot of influence with my colleagues on educational matters.
3. I am just a cog in the machinery of this school.
4. I feel close to other teachers in this school.
5. Though teachers work near one another, I feel as if I am on an island by myself.
6. In the long run, it is better to be minimally involved in school affairs.
7. I feel involved in a lot of activities that go on in this school.
8. I find my job very exciting and rewarding.
9. I really don't feel satisfied with a lot of things that go on in this school.

These nine items were meant to measure four variants of alienation. Items one through three are supposed to measure feelings of powerlessness; items four and five are supposed to measure feelings of isolation; items six and seven are supposed to measure feelings of involvement in school activities; and finally items eight and nine are supposed to measure feelings of dissatisfaction. Here, it is important to note that these items were not put in the above order in the questionniare; they were distributed randomly with a number of other items. Further, it is important to note that the above nine items are keyed in both positive and negative directions in order to avoid mental set and social desirability effects. For our purposes, a general scale as well as a number of sub-scales can be devised involving these nine items. Using mean scores of all nine items, a general scale of alienation from school system was devised in the following manner:

1. Non-alienation refers to a mean score of 1.5 or less
2. Low alienation refers to a mean score ranging from 1.6 to 2
3. Medium alienation refers to a mean score ranging from 2.1 to 2.4
4. High alienation refers to a mean score of 2.5 or more

Similarly, sub-scales of feelings of powerlessness, of isolation, of noninvolvement, and dissatisfaction were devised. For instance, the scale of powerlessness was devised in the following manner:

1. Low powerlessness refers to a mean score of 1.5 or less
2. Medium powerlessness refers to a mean score ranging from 1.6 to 2.4
3. High powerlessness refers to a mean score of 2.5 or more

Scales for the other three components were devised by using the same cutting-points. The four components of alienation are highly related as shown in Tables 2-7.

Overcontrol. Overcontrol is defined in terms of bureaucratization. In this study, bureaucratization refers to a high degree of (a) centralization of power, (b) demand for conformity, and (c) formal or impersonal relationships.

A. Centralization of power in administration. Teachers as well as principals were asked on a four-point scale to indicate to what extent the following statements described typical behaviors that occurred within their school, i.e., whether they almost always, often, sometimes or very seldom occurred:

1. The principal does most of the talking in staff meetings.

TABLE 2

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISSATISFACTION AND ISOLATION

Degree of dissatisfaction	Degree of isolation			
	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 113)	(N = 53)	(N = 71)	(N = 237)
Low	55%	27%	18%	84 (100%)
Medium	51%	20%	29%	79 (100%)
High	36%	19%	45%	74 (100%)

$X^2 = 18.16$; $p < .001$

TABLE 3

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISSATISFACTION AND POWERLESSNESS

Degree of dissatisfaction	Degree of powerlessness			
	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 18)	(N = 164)	(N = 54)	(N = 236)
Low	7%	82%	11%	83 (100%)
Medium	13%	63%	24%	79 (100%)
High	3%	62%	35%	74 (100%)

$X^2 = 18.19$; $p < .001$

TABLE 4

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISSATISFACTION AND NON-INVOLVEMENT

Degree of dissatisfaction	Degree of non-involvement			
	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 62)	(N = 51)	(N = 124)	(N = 237)
Low	39%	23%	38%	84 (100%)
Medium	21%	27%	52%	79 (100%)
High	16%	15%	69%	74 (100%)

$X^2 = 18.71; p <.001$

TABLE 5

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POWERLESSNESS AND ISOLATION

Degree of powerlessness	Degree of isolation			
	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 112)	(N = 53)	(N = 71)	(N = 236)
Low	89%	0	11%	18 (100%)
Medium	49%	25%	26%	164 (100%)
High	28%	24%	48%	54 (100%)

$X^2 = 24.34; p < .001$

TABLE 6

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NON-INVOLVEMENT AND ISOLATION

Degree of non-involvement	Degree of isolation			
	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 113)	(N = 53)	(N = 71)	(N = 237)
Low	73%	19%	8%	62 (100%)
Medium	39%	27%	33%	51 (100%)
High	38%	22%	40%	124 (100%)

$X^2 = 25.27$; $p < .001$

TABLE 7

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NON-INVOLVEMENT AND POWERLESSNESS

Degree of non-involvement	Degree of powerlessness			
	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 18)	(N = 164)	(N = 54)	(N = 236)
Low	13%	81%	6%	62 (100%)
Medium	4%	78%	18%	51 (100%)
High	7%	60%	33%	123 (100%)

$X^2 = 20.52$; $p < .001$

2. The principal seeks suggestions from teachers.
3. The principal has ample time for conversation with teachers.
4. The principal consults with teachers before making major decisions at school.

The scale of centralization of power in the administration was devised by using the same cutting-points as in the scales of components of alienation.

Another device was also used to measure actual and desired degree of centralization-decentralization of power in the administration as well as discrepancies between what is actual and what is ideal. Teachers and principals were asked:

1. In general how much influence do you think the following groups or persons have in determining educational matters (e.g., curriculum, policy, etc.) in this school. Place a check in the box that best describes the influence ability of each of a-f.

	no infl.	a little infl.	some infl.	a great deal of infl.
a. The local school board				
b. Your superintendent				
c. Your principal				
d. A small group of teachers				
e. Your teaching colleagues in general				
f. You, personally				

2. In your opinion, how much influence should each of these groups or persons have in determining educational matters (e.g., curriculum, policy, etc.) in this school. Place a

check in the box that best describes your feelings about the desirable influence of each of a-f.

	no infl.	a little infl.	some infl.	a great deal of infl.
a. The local school board				
b. Your superintendent				
c. Your principal				
d. A small group of teachers				
e. Your teaching colleagues in general				
f. You, personally				

B. Demand for conformity and discouragement of dissent. Overcontrol may be exercised by peers, principals, and communities. Teachers and principals were asked to indicate to what extent the following statements characterized the climate of their school:

1. Teachers can achieve their educational goals only if they "fit in" as persons.
2. Teachers have ideas about the school which they don't express in public.
3. Teachers are expected to adjust to the school system rather than change it.
4. Teachers who don't "fit in" are rejected.
5. As school systems become more and more complex teachers become less capable of independent thinking.
6. There are pressures on teachers not to deal with controversial matters.
7. The school is subject to a lot of community pressures.
8. The community wants teachers to do things they don't want to do.

The same cutting-points which were used in the scales of components of alienation were used in devising the scale of demand for conformity.

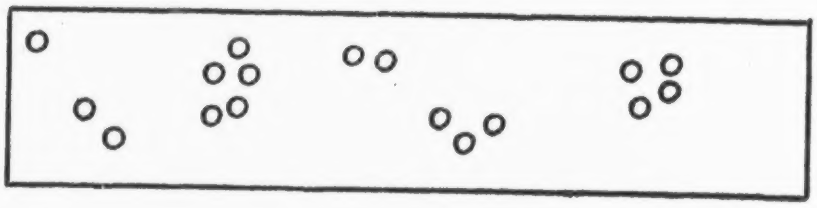
C. Formal or impersonal relationships. A third characteristic of bureaucratization is that peer relationships and principal-teacher relationships tend to be formal and impersonal. Here also teachers and principals were asked to indicate on a four-point scale to what extent the following statements characterized the climate of their school:

1. Teachers visit each other socially at home.
2. Our teaching staff has a high esprit de corps.
3. Teachers talk about their personal lives with other faculty members.
4. The principal demonstrates a warm personal interest in the staff members.
5. Teachers call the principal by his first name.
6. Relationships between the principal and teachers are formal.
7. The principal calls teachers by their first names.

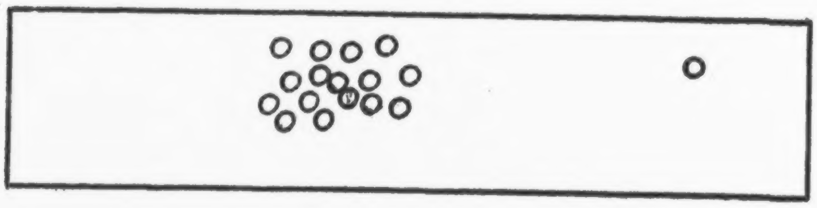
The scale of impersonal relationships was devised in the same way as the scales of components of alienation.

Cohesiveness. The items used for the measurement of impersonal or formal peer relationships as shown above can be taken as indices of degree of cohesiveness in interpersonal relations. However, a more indirect method was used. Teachers and principals were asked to indicate which one of the following drawings would most nearly look like the staff of teachers as a group in their school.

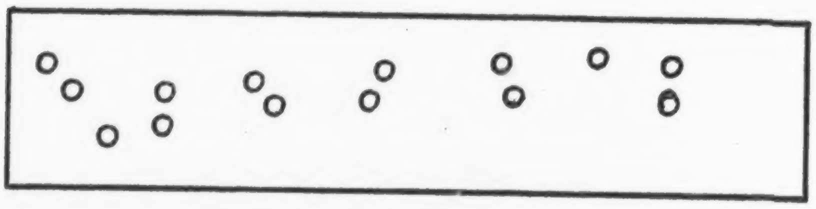
a. ______



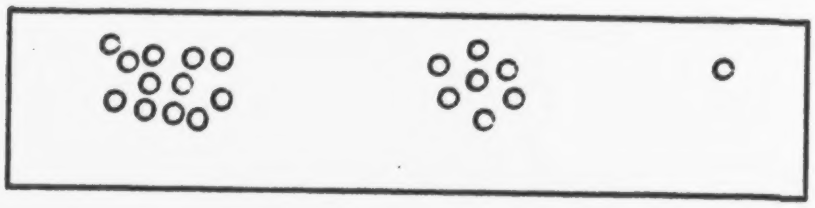
b. ______



c. ______



d. ______



Other,
please draw
e. ______

Drawing a will be considered as an index of pluralism or subgroups of dyads and triads, drawing b will be considered as an index of cohesiveness or integration, drawing c will be considered as an index of disintegration and isolation, and drawing d will be considered as an index of unbalanced conflict because one of the two subgroups is relatively small; if the two subgroups are similar in size they will be considered as an index of balanced conflict.

Teacher's position in the social structure. One of the ways used to determine the position of a teacher in the school social structure was to ask him to go over the drawing he thought to be most nearly like the staff of teachers in his school and place an "X" within the circle that best represented his position. In this way we might be able to tell whether a teacher perceived himself as an isolate, as a member of a dyad or triad, or as central or peripheral to a large group.

Another way of determining a teacher's position in the social structure might be through use of sociometric instruments. Teachers were provided with a staff roster and were asked to list the identification numbers of the three teachers they (a) communicated with most about teaching; (b) felt are most influential in developing staff opinion about education matters; (c) felt are the most competent and effective classroom teachers; and (d) liked the best.

Degree of isolation was determined by the number of nominations a teacher received.

Centrality-diffuseness of teachers' interpersonal relationships. The above sociometric instruments can be used to determine whether the interpersonal relationships pattern can be characterized as central or diffuse. Diffuse pattern will refer to a high degree of spread of nominations. A school in which over 50% of teachers are nominated once or more will be considered as having a diffuse pattern of interpersonal relationships. Otherwise, it will be considered as having a central pattern of interpersonal relationships.

Specific anomie or normlessness. Two items were used to measure degree of perceived normlessness at the school level. Teachers were asked to indicate on a four-point scale whether they almost always, often, sometimes, or very seldom felt this way. The two items were:

1. Some school regulations have to be disregarded.
2. At this school, it is not important how much you know; it is whom you know that counts.

The scale of specific normlessness was devised in the same manner as the scales of components of alienation.

Principal's supportiveness. The items below will be considered as indicators of the degree of principal's supportiveness. Teachers were asked to indicate whether their principal almost always, often, sometimes or very seldom was engaged in a number of supportive activities. Similarly, principals were asked to indicate to what extent they engaged in such activities.

1. The principal encourages and supports new ways of teaching.
2. The principal encourages continued professional training.
3. The principal helps teachers deal with their classroom problems.
4. The principal brings educational literature, conferences, etc., to the attention of teachers.
5. The principal is satisfied with the way teachers perform here.

The scale of principal's supportiveness was devised in the following manner:

1. Low supportiveness refers to a mean score of 2 or less
2. Medium supportiveness refers to a mean score ranging from 2.1 to 3
3. High supportiveness refers to a mean score ranging from 3.1 to 4

Classroom climate. In order to find out whether or not the degree of discrepancy between the actual and ideal climates of classrooms is related to teachers' feelings of alienation, a semantic differential instrument shown below was used. Teachers were asked to check the space that they thought best described their classroom climate as it actually was. Later, they were presented with the same semantic differential instrument and were asked to check the space that they though would best describe their classroom as they would have liked it to be.

friendly :___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___: business-like
individual activities :___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___: group activities
planned :___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___: spontaneous
active :___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___: passive
relaxed :___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___: attentive
formal :___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___: informal
feelings controlled :___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___: feelings expressed
pupil planned :___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___: teacher planned
lecture :___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___: discussion
cooperative :___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___: competitive

Discrepancy between actual and ideal aspects of education emphasis by school system. This degree of discrepancy was determined by presenting to teachers and principals descriptions of four hypothetical schools each of which emphasized a different aspect of education. In column *A* teachers and principals were asked to place a *1* next to the one that was most like their school, and a *4* next to the one that was the least like their school. In column *B* they were asked to place a *1* next to the one that would, in their opinion, be the most desirable or ideal, and a *4* next to the one that would be the least desirable. These actual and ideal aspects of education can be opposed, different, or the same.

	A	B
	Most Like My School	Most Desirable or Ideal
School #1 feels that the most important task of the schools is primarily intellectual; that is, to provide children with information about many things, teach them reading, writing and arithmetic, give them the ability to figure things out for themselves, and a desire to learn more.	______	______
School #2 is primarily interested in social things; that is, teaching children how to get along with others, to know about people in other countries, and to be good citizens who are loyal to America.	______	______
School #3 is concerned with the personal development of students; that is, seeing that they possess a sense of right and wrong, develop into mature and stable persons who are in good physical condition, and learn to enjoy things like music and hobbies.	______	______
School #4 is most concerned about the more practical things; that is, helping students choose the right occupation or college, giving them specialized job training, and preparing them for marriage and family living.	______	______

Objectives for the school. Teachers were asked to indicate what were the four primary objectives towards which effort should be put in their school system by placing 1 by the most important of the ten objectives below, 2 by the next most important, 3 by the next most important, and 4 for the next most important.

_____ Reducing the dropout rate.

_____ Improving attention to basic skills in the first three grades.

_____ Improving attention to physical health and safety of students.

_____ Increasing children's motivation and desire to learn.

_____ Improving learning opportunities for disadvantaged children.

_____ Increasing the percentage of college attendance by seniors.

_____ Improving discipline and the behavior of "difficult" children.

_____ Improving the quality of student academic achievement at all levels.

_____ Improving children's adherence to moral, ethical, and patriotic standards.

_____ Improving learning opportunities for gifted or talented children.

Innovation, adaptation and adoption of teaching practices. Teachers were asked as to whether or not they had been trying any significant classroom practices for improving pupils' learning or motivation to learn. Those who said "no" were considered as non-adopters. Those who said "yes" were asked to describe the most significant practice they had been using. Then they were asked to check on the line below the position that best described their practice.

original with me (to the best of my knowledge)	got it somewhere else and made major changes	got it somewhere else and made minor changes	got it somewhere else without making any changes

Innovators are those who described the most significant practices they had been using as original. Those who said they got their most significant practices from somewhere else and used them without making any major changes were considered adoptors. In between are the adaptors who said they borrowed their most significant practices from somewhere else but made major changes in them.

General alienation. The three items below were meant to measure degree of general alienation. They were presented to teachers who were asked to indicate how they felt about them, putting their answers on a four-point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree."

1. It's only wishful thinking to believe that a person can really influence what's happening in society at large.
2. I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.
3. Sometimes, I feel all alone in the world.

The scale of general alienation was devised in the following manner:

1. Non-alienation refers to a mean score of 1.5 or less
2. Low alienation refers to a mean score ranging from 1.6 to 2.4
3. Medium alienation refers to a mean score ranging from 2.5 to 3
4. High alienation refers to a mean score ranging from 3.1 to 4

General anomie or normlessness. Similarly, four items were used to measure degree of perceived normlessness on a societal level. Teachers were told that these items were statements which described the feelings of some people, and they were asked to indicate whether they strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed, or strongly disagreed with them. The four items were:

1. With everything in such a state of disorder, it is hard for a person to know where he stands from one day to the next.
2. Though people might not admit it, they are out for all they can get.
3. Most people just don't give a "damn" for others and are ready to use any means to get to their goals.
4. The trouble with the world today is that most people really don't believe in anything.

The scale of general anomie was devised in the same way as the scale of general alienation.

Measurement problems

A number of measurement problems and limitations need to be raised in the present research. There is, first, the problem of differentiation between actual and perceived properties of school systems. For instance, it has been hypothesized that there might be a relationship between the social and normative structures of a school system and alienation from this system. The question is whether reference is being made to the social and normative structures as they actually exist or as they are perceived by teachers.

As seen in the last chapter, conditions of overcontrol and undercontrol were measured as perceived by teachers. In some instances the questions were put in indirect form as when diagrams and drawings were used to represent staff relationships or degree of cohesiveness. In other instances, sociometric instruments were used, and, consequently, actual patterns of interpersonal relationships may be derived. To overcome this limitation, consensus among teachers and the principal's assessment were used. Generally, however, perceived rather than actual patterns will be considered.

This raises another problem. If perceived rather than actual social and normative structures are to be considered, the problem of circular interaction and causal direction need to be dealt with. Though a relationship may be found between feelings of alienation from the school system and feelings that there is a high degree of bureaucratization, the investigator cannot conclude that one is a source and the other is a consequence. Both feelings may intensify one another, and each can be considered a source and a consequence at the same time. Because of that, the stress will be on degree of association rather than on direction of causation.

A third problem that needs to be dealt with in this research is the units of analysis. Here, again, the stress will be on teachers as members of the school system. However, whenever possible, schools as sufficiently independent entities or as integral units will be the target of analysis. The reason for reservation about using schools as units of analysis is the small number of schools in our sample. Another reason for this reservation is that many organizational attributes can only be derived from data on the school system as a whole and not from data on individual teachers.

Part II

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

CHAPTER V

OVERCONTROL AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Overcontrol is defined in terms of degree of bureaucratization. Operationally, a school will be considered highly bureaucratized when its social structure is characterized by a high degree of (a) centralization of power, (b) demand for conformity, and (c) impersonal relationships.

The central focus of this chapter is to examine separately the relationship of each of the above aspects of overcontrol to feelings of alienation from the school system.

A. Power structure and alienation from the school system

A school power structure refers to power relations or patterns of influence at school. As operationalized in this study, patterns of influence are determined by the amount of influence teachers, principals, superintendents, school boards and other groups are perceived to have in determining educational matters (e.g., curriculum, policy, etc.). A school will be considered highly bureaucratized when teachers have little or no influence compared to other groups. As reported earlier (see pp.37-38), teachers were asked to indicate how much influence the school board, the superintendent, the principal, their teaching colleagues in general, and they, personally, had in determining educational matters at school. They were also asked to indicate how much influence each of the above groups, and they personally, should have. In this way, both the "actual" and the "ideal" patterns of influence as well as the discrepancy between them could be determined.

In respect to personal influence and its relation to feelings of alienation, the following hypotheses were proposed:

Hypothesis 1a. The more teachers think they are personally influential in determining educational matters, the less alienated they are from the school system.

Hypothesis 1b. The greater the actual influence of teachers in determining educational matters, the less alienated they are from the school system.

The data bearing on these hypotheses are found in Tables 8 and 9. The prediction that the more teachers think they are personally influential, the less alienated they are from the school system gains significant support from the data reported in Table 8. While 46% of those who think they have no influence are highly alienated, only 9% of those who think they have some or great deal of influence are so alienated.

In view of the possibility that the amount of personal influence teachers actually have may not have the same relation to alienation as does perceived influence, hypothesis 1b was suggested. The degree of personal influence teachers actually have was determined by the number of peer nominations they received as influential in developing staff opinion about educational matters. As shown in Table 9, the hypothesis which proposed an inverse relationship between amount of actual influence and feelings of alienation from the school system gains significant confirmation. In short, both hypothesized relationships are statistically significant and in the predicted direction.

The reason hypothesis 1b is less significant than hypothesis 1a (compare Tables 8 and 9) might be due to the fact that feelings of alienation are likely to influence teachers' perception of the school power

TABLE 8

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEIVED PERSONAL INFLUENCE IN DETERMINING EDUCATIONAL MATTERS AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Perceived personal influence	Alienation from the school system None	 Low	 Medium	 High	 Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 65)	(N = 58)	(N = 234)
None	5%	21%	28%	46%	058 (100%)
Little	13%	34%	32%	21%	122 (100%)
Some or Great Deal	33%	39%	19%	9%	54 (100%)

$X^2 = 38.5; p < .001$

TABLE 9

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACTUAL PERSONAL INFLUENCE IN DETERMINING EDUCATIONAL MATTERS AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Actual personal influence	Alienation from the school system None	 Low	 Medium	 High	 Total
	(N = 36)	(N = 74)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 236)
None	9%	31%	28%	32%	124 (100%)
Little	15%	25%	38%	22%	65 (100%)
Some	24%	36%	28%	12%	25 (100%)
Great deal	41%	45%	5%	9%	22 (100%)

$X^2 = 20.58; p <.02$

structure. Another reason might be the existence of possible overlap between one of the nine items of alienation (i.e., the one stating, "I have a lot of influence with my colleagues on educational matters") and teachers' perception of their personal influence in determining educational matters in school relative to others. The researcher thinks that the former reason is more important than the latter in the present context, because one out of nine items is not likely to be responsible for the difference between Tables 8 and 9.

With respect to the kind of relationship that exists between teachers' perception of the influence of their colleagues in general and their alienation from the school system the following hypothesis was proposed:

> Hypothesis 1c. The more influence teachers think their colleagues in general have, the less alienated they are from the school system.

The prediction that the more influence teachers think their colleagues in general have the less alienated gains significant confirmation from the data reported in Table 10. While 57% of those who think their colleagues have no influence are highly alienated, only 15% of those who think their colleagues have a great deal of influence show such a tendency.

Teachers seem also to be concerned about the amount of influence their principal has. How teachers' feelings about the extent to which their principal is influential might be related to their feelings of alienation is hypothesized below:

> Hypothesis 1d. The more influence teachers think their principal has relative to the superintendent, the less alienated they are from the school system.

TABLE 10

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF THE INFLUENCE OF THEIR COLLEAGUES IN DETERMINING EDUCATIONAL MATTERS AND THEIR ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Perceived influence of colleagues	Alienation from the school system				
	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N,= 66)	(N= 57)	(N = 234)
None	14%	24%	5%	57%	21 (100%)
Little	11%	30%	36%	23%	108 (100%)
Some	19%	34%	27%	20%	79 (100%)
Great deal	27%	39%	19%	15%	26 (100%)

$X^2 = 23.20$; $p < .005$

Hypothesis 1e. The more influence teachers think their principal has relative to them, the more alienated they are from the school system.

The data in Table 11 show that the proposed relationship in hypothesis 1d reaches only the .10 level of significance. However, the relationship is in the predicted direction. Because the principal occupies a position which is both academic and administrative, teachers seem to have mixed feelings regarding the amount of influence he should have. There are those who might see the principal as a supportive linking-pin and, consequently, would like him to have some or a great deal of power. On the other hand, there are those who do not see him as supportive and, consequently, are not concerned about whether he has more influence than the superintendent or not.

No matter how mixed these feelings are, teachers do not seem to want the principal to have more influence than they do. The proposed hypothesis that the more influence teachers think their principal has relative to them the more alienated they are is significantly supported by the data reported in Table 12. The results show that those who think the principal has more influence than they do, and not those who think he has the same amount of influence, are the ones who tend to be alienated. In fact, they tend to be more alienated than those who think the principal has less influence than they do.

So far, comparison was made on the individual level. Hereafter, some comparison will be made on the school level whenever indices are available and the obtained distribution allows that. Hypothesis 1f proposes a relationship between principal's perception of the influence of the school board relative to him and teachers' feelings of alienation from the school system.

TABLE 11

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF PRINCIPAL'S INFLUENCE RELATIVE TO THE SUPERINTENDENT, AND THEIR ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Perceived principal's influence relative to the superintendent	Alienation from the school system				
	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 66)	(N = 54)	(N = 231)
Less than superintendent	14%	25%	31%	30%	89 (100%)
Same or more than superintendent	18%	36%	27%	19%	142 (100%)

$X^2 = 6.46$; $p <.10$

TABLE 12

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF PRINCIPAL'S INFLUENCE RELATIVE TO THEM AND THEIR ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Perceived principal's influence relative to teachers	Alienation from the school system				
	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 64)	(N = 58)	(N = 233)
Less than teachers	25%	38%	25%	12%	8 (100%)
Same as teachers	31%	33%	20%	16%	45 (100%)
More than teachers	12%	31%	29%	28%	180 (100%)

$X^2 = 12.79$; $p < .05$

Hypothesis 1f. In schools where the principal thinks the school board has more influence than he does, there is more alienation than in schools where he thinks the school board has less influence than he does.

A warning needs to be made at this point. As reported earlier, the sample consists of only nine schools. Further, three of these are senior high schools, three are junior high schools, and three are elementary schools. Moreover, these schools are of different sizes. In short, such an interplay of various variables might very well account for the differences, if any, between the compared schools. Nevertheless, the researcher will attempt to look at a number of hypothesized relationships at this level.

The data in Table 13 demonstrate a highly significant association between principal's perception of the school board influence relative to him and teachers' alienation from the school system. Sixty-four percent of the teachers in those schools where the principals feel the school boards have the same amount or more influence than they do seem to be either moderately or highly alienated. In comparison, only 35% of the teachers in those schools where principals feel their school boards have less influence than they do are either moderately or highly alienated.

As one climbs the ladder of power hierarchy, the direction of relationship starts to change as suggested in the hypothesis below.

Hypothesis 1g. The more influence teachers think their superintendent has relative to them, the more alienated they are from the school system.

The data in Table 14 show that teachers are more likely to be alienated when they feel that the superintendent has more or less influence than they do. The tendency to be non-alienated seems to be

TABLE 13

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRINCIPAL'S PERCEPTION OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE SCHOOL BOARD RELATIVE TO HIM AND TEACHERS' ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

	Alienation from the school system				
Perceived influence of the school board relative to the principal	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 237)
Less influence than principal	20%	45%	19%	16%	88 (100%)
Same or more influence than principal	13%	23%	34%	30%	149 (100%)

$X^2 = 18.29$; $p < .001$

TABLE 14

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF SUPERINTENDENT'S INFLUENCE RELATIVE TO THEM AND THEIR ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

	Alienation from the school system				
Perceived superintendent's influence relative to teachers	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 65)	(N = 54)	(N = 230)
Less than teachers	15%	31%	46%	8%	13 (100%)
Same as teachers	34%	39%	10%	17%	41 (100%)
More than teachers	12%	31%	31%	26%	176 (100%)

$X^2 = 15.79$; $p < .02$

TABLE 15

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE SCHOOL BOARD RELATIVE TO THEM AND THEIR ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

	Alienation from the school system				
Perceived influence of the school board relative to teachers	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 64)	(N = 55)	(N = 230)
Less than teachers	15%	38%	31%	15%	13 (100%)
Same as teachers	19%	39%	19%	23%	26 (100%)
More than teachers	16%	31%	29%	24%	191 (100%)

$X^2 = 2.05$; $p < .9$

greatest among those who feel the superintendent has as much influence as they do. Thus, the data in Table 14 confirm hypothesis 1g.

With respect to the relationship between teachers' perception of the school board influence in determining educational matters and their alienation from the school system, the following hypothesis was proposed.

> Hypothesis 1h. The more influence teachers think their school board has relative to them, the more alienated they are from the school system.

Contrary to expectation, the data in Table 15 do not lend significant support to the above hypothesis. Why this is so is unclear in this study. One possible explanation is that the school board might be conceived by teachers as remote from their daily experiences at school. However, the relationship is in the predicted direction.

To sum up, so far all hypothesized relationships were found to be in the predicted direction and six out of eight were significantly confirmed. At this point, a different technique will be used in testing these same relationships. It is assumed that the way power structure is related to feelings of alienation can be seen more clearly, and probably measured more effectively, when such feelings are related to the degree of discrepancy between actual and ideal patterns of influence. The researcher is of the opinion that feelings of alienation have their roots in the gap between what is actual and what is ideal or desired. It is suggested here that the greater the disparity between the actual and ideal worlds of the respondents, the greater their alienation. In the last analysis, this gap might turn out to be one of the most significant sources of feelings of alienation. Fortunately enough, such a discrepancy is not the most difficult thing to measure.

The relationships of discrepancies between actual and ideal patterns of influence at the schools under study to feelings of alienation are hypothesized below.

Hypothesis 2a. The greater the discrepancy between the amount of influence teachers think they have personally in determining educational matters and the amount of influence they think they should have, the greater their alienation from the school system.

Hypothesis 2b. The greater the discrepancy between the amount of influence teachers think their colleagues have in determining educational matters and the amount of influence they think their colleagues should have, the greater their alienation from the school system.

Hypothesis 2c. The greater the discrepancy between the amount of influence teachers think the principal has in determining educational matters and the amount of influence they think he should have, the greater their alienation from the school system.

Hypothesis 2d. The greater the discrepancy between the amount of influence teachers think the superintendent has in determining educational matters and the amount of influence they think he should have, the greater their alienation from the school system.

Hypothesis 2e. The greater the discrepancy between the amount of influence teachers think the school board has in determining educational matters and the amount of influence they think it should have, the greater their alienation from the school system.

Tables 16-20 present data which show that all the above hypothesized relationships are in the predicted directions. However, only three of them are statistically significant when discrepancy is determined both by less and more influence.

Results (see Table 16) significantly confirm the prediction that the greater the discrepancy between the amount of influence teachers think they have and the amount of influence they desire to have, the greater their alienation from the school system. This seems to be true regardless of whether teachers would like to have more or less influence. Further inspection of Table 16 shows that most teachers (i.e., 129 out of 233) desire to have more influence, while only very few (i.e., 7 out of 233) desire to have less influence.

Similarly, the data reported in Table 17 significantly support the hypothesis which proposes that the greater the discrepancy between the amount of influence teachers think their colleagues have and the amount of influence they would like their colleagues to have, the greater their alienation from the school system.

The data reported in Table 18 show that there is no statistically significant confirmation of hypothesis 2c. But those teachers who would like the principal to have less influence seem to be more alienated than the rest of the teachers.

Table 19 offers significant support to hypothesis 2d which suggests that the greater the discrepancy between the amount of influence teachers think the superintendent has and the amount of influence they would like him to have, the greater their alienation. As shown, 35% of those who think the superintendent should have less influence, as compared to 18% of those who think he should have more influence and 16% of those who indicate no desire in change, tend to be highly alienated. However, there is no indication that those who think the superintendent should have more influence are more alienated than those who see no discrepancy.

The data bearing on hypothesis 2e are reported in Table 20. The hypothesized relationship that the greater the discrepancy between the amount of influence teachers think their school board has and the amount

TABLE 16

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE TEACHERS THINK THEY HAVE AND THE AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE THEY WOULD LIKE TO HAVE AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Degree of discrepancy	Alienation from the school system				
	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 65)	(N = 57)	(N = 233)
Desire much more influence	7%	30%	11%	52%	27 (100%)
Desire more influence	9%	25%	35%	31%	102 (100%)
Desire less influence	00	42%	29%	29%	7 (100%)
Desire same amount of influence	27%	39%	25%	9%	97 (100%)

$X^2 = 42.83$; $p < .001$

TABLE 17

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE TEACHERS THINK THEIR COLLEAGUES HAVE AND THE AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE THEY WOULD LIKE THEM TO HAVE AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

	Alienation from the school system				
Degree of discrepancy	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 73)	(N = 67)	(N = 57)	(N = 234)
Desire much more influence	8%	34%	00	58%	12 (100%)
Desire more influence	14%	24%	31%	31%	49 (100%)
Desire somewhat more influence	11%	32%	36%	21%	87 (100%)
Desire somewhat less influence	8%	42%	42%	8%	12 (100%)
Desire less influence	00	00	33%	67%	3 (100%)
Desire same amount of influence	25%	34%	21%	20%	71 (100%)

$X^2 = 26.946; p < .05$

TABLE 18

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE TEACHERS THINK THEIR PRINCIPAL HAS AND THE AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE THEY WOULD LIKE HIM TO HAVE AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

	Alienation from the school system				
Degree of discrepancy	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 66)	(N = 58)	(N = 235)
Desire more influence	18%	28%	30%	24%	79 (100%)
Desire less influence	12%	24%	28%	36%	25 (100%)
Desire same amount of influence	15%	35%	27%	23%	131 (100%)

$x^2 = 3.48$; $p < .750$

TABLE 19

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE TEACHERS THINK THEIR SUPERINTENDENT HAS AND THE AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE THEY WOULD LIKE HIM TO HAVE AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

	Alienation from the school system				
Degree of discrepancy	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 67)	(N = 53)	(N = 231)
Desire more influence	20%	29%	33%	18%	55 (100%)
Desire less influence	9%	26%	30%	35%	80 (100%)
Desire same amount of influence	20%	38%	26%	16%	96 (100%)

$x^2 = 14.75$; $p < .025$

TABLE 20

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE TEACHERS THINK THEIR SCHOOL BOARD HAS AND THE AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE THEY WOULD LIKE IT TO HAVE AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Degree of discrepancy	Alienation from the school system				
	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 65)	(N = 55)	(N = 231)
Desire more influence	6%	22%	39%	33%	18 (100%)
Desire less influence	17%	33%	29%	21%	107 (100%)
Desire much less influence	9%	31%	22%	38%	32 (100%)
Desire same amount of influence	20%	33%	27%	20%	74 (100%)

$X^2 = 8.98;\ p < .50$

of influence they would like it to have, the greater their alienation is in the predicted direction but failed to gain statistical significance.

So far, the examination of the relationship between the power structure and feelings of alienation has been based on the data collected in response to the instrument designed to measure patterns of influence in determining educational matters (see p.37). Now, an attempt will be made to analyze another set of data pertaining to the same relationship but based on a different instrument (see p.38). In the latter instrument teachers were asked to indicate to what extent the principal sought teachers' participation in making major decisions regarding school affairs. In this way, degree of centralization of power in the principal's office could be determined. Specifically, the following hypotheses were proposed.

Hypothesis 3a.	The more teachers think there is centralization of decision-making in the office of the principal, the more alienated they are from the school system.
Hypothesis 3b.	In schools where the majority of teachers agree that there is high centralization of power in the principal's office, there is greater alienation than in the rest of the schools.

Table 21 presents data which demonstrate a significant association between teachers' perception of centralization of power in the principal's office and their alienation from the school system. As shown, 12%, 16%, and 29% of those who think there is a low, medium, and high degree of centralization of power in the principal's office respectively are highly alienated.

TABLE 21

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF CENTRALIZATION OF POWER IN THE PRINCIPAL'S OFFICE AND THEIR ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Degree of centralization of power	Alienation from the school system				
	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 237)
Low	38%	38%	12%	12%	16 (100%)
Medium	21%	23%	40%	16%	68 (100%)
High	11%	34%	26%	29%	153 (100%)

$X^2 = 19.098$; $p < .005$

TABLE 22

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEGREE OF TEACHERS' AGREEMENT REGARDING CENTRALIZATION OF POWER IN THE PRINCIPAL'S OFFICE AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Agreement	Alienation from the school system				
	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 237)
On high degree of centralization	15%	33%	28%	24%	201 (100%)
On medium degree of centralization	19%	19%	36%	25%	36 (99%)

$X^2 = 3.15$; $p < .25$

Hypothesis 3b proposing a relationship between centralization of power and feelings of alienation on the school level failed to gain confirmation. In fact, the data in Table 22 not only failed to support hypothesis 3b, but also showed that the direction of the relationship is somehow opposite from that posed in this hypothesis. However, there is at least one explanation. The researcher warned earlier that the small number of schools and the interplay of such variables as size and level should be considered in interpreting results on the school level. Here, it must be remembered that the small number of schools could prevent enough spread in case attempts are made to control on relevant variables.

B. Demands for conformity and alienation from the school system

The second major characteristic of bureaucratization to be considered in this study is great demands for conformity and punishment of dissent. Teachers, as members of the school system, might be exposed to pressures exerted by various groups. One potential source of such pressures, i.e., the community where the school is located, will be singled out. Other analyses are based on a more pervasive and general index of demands for conformity (see p.38) will be the target of analysis.

Regarding the relationship between community pressures on teachers and their feelings of alienation from the school system, the following hypotheses were proposed.

Hypothesis 4a. The more teachers think there is community pressure on them to conform, the more alienated they are from the school system.

Hypothesis 4b. In schools where the majority of teachers agree that there is community pressure on them to conform, there is more alienation than in schools where there is no such agreement.

The data bearing on these hypotheses are found in Tables 23 and 24. The confirmation of the predicted direction in hypothesis 4a is provided by the data in Table 23. However, this hypothesized relationship reaches only the .10 level of significance. This might be due to the fact that the community is relatively remote from the teachers' daily experiences at school.

The data reported in Table 24 test the same relationship but on the school level. As predicted in hypothesis 4b, in schools where there is consensus regarding exposure of teachers to a high degree of community pressure there is more alienation than in schools where there is consensus on a low degree of such pressure. Further, in schools where there is lack of agreement, teachers tend to be more alienated than non-alienated. As will be discussed later, lack of agreement might be considered as an index of normlessness.

That there might be a more significant relationship between pervasive and general demand for conformity and feelings of alienation was suggested in the hypotheses below.

Hypothesis 5a. The more teachers feel there is general demand on them to conform, the more alienated they are from the school system.

Hypothesis 5b. In schools where the majority of teachers agree that there is general demand on them to conform, there is more alienation than in schools where there is no such agreement.

Hypothesis 5c. In schools where the principals think there is general demand on teachers to conform, there is more alienation than in the rest of the schools.

As pointed out earlier, teachers as well as principals were asked to indicate to what extent teachers were expected to "fit in" the school system rather than change it.

TABLE 23

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF COMMUNITY PRESSURES AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Perceived community pressures	Alienation from the school system None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 73)	(N = 68)	(N = 57)	(N = 235)
Low	12%	35%	38%	15%	91 (100%)
Medium	21%	29%	22%	28%	58 (100%)
High	16%	28%	24%	32%	86 (100%)

X^2 = 11.233; p <.10

TABLE 24

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' AGREEMENT REGARDING DEGREE OF COMMUNITY PRESSURE AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Agreement	Alienation from the school system None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N - 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 237)
On low degree of pressure	24%	43%	20%	13%	63 (100%)
On high degree of pressure	14%	24%	32%	30%	37 (100%)
Lack of agreement	12%	28%	31%	29%	137 (100%)

X^2 = 14.44; p <.025

Teachers' perception of general demands on them to conform and their feelings of alienation are significantly related as evidenced by the data in Table 25. As shown, 38% out of those who think there is a high degree of demand for conformity, as compared to 16% of those who think there is a medium degree of demand for conformity, are highly alienated.

Similarly, but on a school level, the data in Table 26 demonstrate that in schools where there is a consensus that teachers are exposed to a high degree of demand for conformity, 43% of the teachers, as compared to 14% of the teachers in those schools where there is perceived to be a medium degree of demand for conformity, are highly alienated.

A further significant confirmation of the same hypothesized relationship, but from the point of view of the principal, is provided by the data in Table 27. Thus, all three relationships are statistically significant and in the predicted direction.

In short, then, there seems to be a significant relationship between demands for conformity and feelings of alienation from the school system. So far, the first two major characteristics of bureaucratization were found to be related to alienation.

C. Impersonal relationships and feelings of alienation

The classical finding by E. Mayo and his associates that peer informal relations contribute to feelings of satisfaction has been a central focus in a great number of theoretical and empirical studies. In this study, the way peer impersonal relationships might be associated with feelings of alienation from the school system can be hypothesized in the following manner.

TABLE 25

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF GENERAL DEMANDS FOR CONFORMITY AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Degree of perceived demand for conformity	Alienation from the school system				
	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 237)
Low	15%	33%	33%	19%	27 (100%)
Medium	20%	37%	27%	16%	122 (100%)
High	10%	23%	29%	38%	88 (100%)

$X^2 = 16.347$; $p < .01$

TABLE 26

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' AGREEMENT REGARDING DEGREE OF GENERAL DEMANDS FOR CONFORMITY AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

	Alienation from the school system				
Agreement	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 237)
On medium degree of demand for conformity	21%	39%	26%	14%	150 (100%)
On high degree of demand for conformity	6%	18%	33%	43%	87 (100%)

$X^2 = 35.21; p < .001$

TABLE 27

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRINCIPAL'S PERCEPTION OF DEGREE OF GENERAL DEMANDS ON TEACHERS TO CONFORM AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

	Alienation from the school system				
Degree of demand for conformity	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 237)
High	12%	29%	27%	32%	130 (100%)
Low	21%	33%	31%	15%	107 (100%)

$X^2 = 10.97; p < .025$

Hypothesis 6a. The more teachers feel that peer relationships are impersonal, the more alienated they are from the school system.

Hypothesis 6b. In schools where the majority of teachers agree that peer relationships are impersonal, there is more alienation than in schools where there is no such agreement.

Table 28 presents data that offer significant support for the proposed relationship between teachers' perception of peer impersonal relations and their feelings of alienation from the school system. While 62% of those who think there is a high degree of peer impersonal relations are either moderately or highly alienated, only 35% of those who think there is a medium degree of peer impersonal relations and 28% of those who think there is a low degree of such relations, are so alienated.

The data in Table 29 lend significant support to the above hypothesized relationship but on a school level. In schools where there is consensus that peer interpersonal relations are highly impersonal there is more alienation than in the rest of the schools under study.

Thus, both hypothesis 6a and hypothesis 6b are statistically significant and in the predicted direction.

Now, would teacher-principal impersonal relations be equally related to feelings of alienation from the school system? To test this, the following hypotheses were proposed.

Hypothesis 7a. The more teachers feel that their relationships with the principal are impersonal, the more alienated they are from the school system.

Hypothesis 7b. In schools where the majority of teachers agree that principal-teacher relationships are impersonal, there is more alienation than in schools where there is no such agreement.

Hypothesis 7c. In schools where the principals think that teacher-principal relationships are impersonal, there is more alienation than in schools where principals think that such relationships are personal.

The data bearing on these hypotheses are found in Tables 30-32. Contrary to expectation, none of the proposed relationships are in the predicted direction. As shown in Table 30, there seems to be no definite trend. Those who think there is a high degree of teacher-principal impersonal relations do not seem to be more or less alienated than those who think there is a low or a medium degree of such relations. One way of explaining this finding would be that teachers have mixed feelings as to whether or not teacher-principal relations should be personal or not. One may venture the guess that some of these teachers might prefer that such relations be formal.

The data in Table 31 show that the hypothesized relationship is neither statistically significant nor in the predicted direction. Again, this may be due to teachers' mixed feelings as to whether such a relationship should be personal or not. Further inspection of this table shows that teachers tend to be alienated in those schools where there is a lack of agreement regarding degree of principal-teacher impersonal relations. As suggested in a different context, such lack of agreement may be considered an index of a state of normlessness.

Although the data reported in Table 32 show a statistically significant relationship between principal's perception of degree of teacher-principal impersonal relations and teachers' feelings of alienation from the school system, the direction of the relationship is opposite from that posed in hypothesis 7c. In those schools where the principals think that teacher-principal relations are personal there is more alienation than in those schools where the principals think that such relations are impersonal. One explanation is that this observed relationship is probably due to the small number and different levels of the schools under

TABLE 30

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF PRINCIPAL-TEACHER IMPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND THEIR ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Degree of perceived principal-teacher impersonal relations	Alienation from the school system				
	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 237)
Low	23%	26%	33%	18%	43 (100%)
Medium	18%	26%	27%	29%	108 (100%)
High	8%	41%	29%	22%	86 (100%)

$X^2 = 11.101; p <.10$

TABLE 31

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' AGREEMENT REGARDING DEGREE OF PRINCIPAL-TEACHER IMPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND THEIR ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

	Alienation from the school system				
Agreement	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 237)
No agreement	6%	33%	27%	33%	15 (100%)
On low degree of principal-teacher impersonal relations	25%	25%	35%	15%	20 (100%)
On medium degree of principal-teacher impersonal relations	13%	29%	27%	31%	136 (100%)
On high degree of principal-teacher impersonal relations	21%	36%	30%	12%	66 (99%)

$X^2 = 13.15; p <.250$

TABLE 32

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRINCIPAL'S PERCEPTION OF DEGREE OF TEACHER-PRINCIPAL IMPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP AND THEIR ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

	Alienation from the school system				
Principal-teacher impersonal relations	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 237)
Impersonal	18%	45%	22%	14%	103 (99%)
Personal	13%	21%	34%	32%	134 (100%)

$X^2 = 22.24; p <.001$

study in that principals in senior high schools described their relationships with teachers as personal.

In summary, the data presented in this chapter tended to confirm the researcher's proposition that overcontrol or great emphasis on molding man into a bureaucratized system is likely to be related to feelings of alienation from that system. However, the researcher would like to emphasize the importance of limiting such a generalization to the systems under examination in the present study. Consequently, a more generalized conclusion awaits further investigations in different systems and different cultures.

CHAPTER VI

UNDERCONTROL AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

The focal concern of the present chapter is to test the proposition that undercontrol is likely to be related to feelings of alienation. Specifically, the present investigation will provide data that shed some light on such aspects of undercontrol as (a) normlessness (perceived and actual), (b) uncertainty about the educational objectives and orientations of the school, (c) lack of cohesiveness of teachers' interpersonal relationships, (d) principal's permissiveness, (e) dissociation of means and goals, and (f) teachers' occupancy of conflicting roles.

Before examining each of these six aspects of undercontrol separately, an attempt will be made to look at some data that might be considered indirectly relevant for both propositions of overcontrol and undercontrol. Here, reference is being made to the data bearing on how teachers' positions in the school social structure, and the size of the school might be related to feelings of alienation from the school system.

With respect to how teachers' positions in the school social structure might be related to feelings of alienation, the following hypotheses are suggested.

Hypothesis 8a. Teachers who think of themselves as isolates are more alienated than those who think of themselves as members of dyads or triads, and these in turn are more alienated than those who think of themselves as occupying central positions.

Hypothesis 8b. The more teachers are communicated with by peers about teaching, the less alienated they are from the school system.

Hypothesis 8c. The more teachers are liked by peers, the less alienated they are from the school system.

The data in Tables 33-35 demonstrate that the position of a teacher in the school social structure is significantly associated with his feelings of alienation. The data in Table 33 show that 36% out of those who see themselves as isolates, as compared to 18% out of those who see themselves as occupying central positions, are highly alienated. Here, it is important to note that there might be some overlap with one of the components of alienation, namely, isolation. However, as a component of alienation, isolation involves personal feelings of dissatisfaction and loneliness in addition to perception of one's position.

Tables 34 and 35 provide data which significantly confirm the proposed relationships between the actual positions of teachers in the communication and attraction networks and their feelings of alienation from the school system. The degree of isolation-centrality in these networks is determined by the number of nominations each teacher receives. Upon inspection of these two tables, 39% of the isolates in the communication network, as compared to none of those who occupy central positions, are found to be highly alienated. Similarly, 73% of the isolates in the attraction network, as compared to 20% of those who occupy highly central positions, are either moderately or highly alienated.

TABLE 33

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEIVED POSITION IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Position in the social structure	Alienation from the school system None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 31)	(N = 65)	(N = 62)	(N = 50)	(N = 208)
Central to a large group	36%	31%	15%	18%	39 (100%)
Peripheral to a large group	18%	27%	34%	21%	33 (100%)
Members of a small group	9%	35%	33%	23%	75 (100%)
Members of dyads or triads	7%	30%	37%	26%	27 (100%)
Isolates	6%	29%	29%	36%	34 (100%)

$X^2 = 23.02$; $p < .025$

TABLE 34

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACTUAL POSITION IN THE COMMUNICATION PATTERN AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Number of nominations	Alienation from school system				
	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 36)	(N = 74)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 236)
Isolates	00%	39%	22%	39%	018 (100%)
1-6 nominations	12%	30%	33%	25%	139 (100%)
7-15 nominations	23%	31%	24%	22%	074 (100%)
16 or more nominations	40%	40%	20%	00%	005 (100%)

$X^2 = 36.99;\ p < .001$

TABLE 35

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACTUAL POSITION IN THE ATTRACTION PATTERN AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Number of nominations	Alienation from the school system				
	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 73)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 236)
Isolates	6%	21%	43%	30%	33 (100%)
1-3 nominations	17%	28%	27%	28%	71 (100%)
4-6 nominations	15%	28%	24%	33%	61 (100%)
7-9 nominations	11%	41%	35%	13%	37 (100%)
10-12 nominations	15%	45%	25%	15%	20 (100%)
13-15 nominations	56%	33%	11%	00%	09 (100%)
16 or more nominations	40%	40%	20%	00%	05 (100%)

$X^2 = 30.377; p < .05$

Earlier in this section, the point was made that some of the data about teachers' positions in the school social structure might be indirectly relevant for both propositions of overcontrol and undercontrol. In one sense isolation might be viewed as a state of nonparticipation, and, consequently, as an instance of anomie. In another sense these findings might be thought of as indirectly related to states of overcontrol in that bureaucratized systems tend to have few members who occupy other than minor positions.

The second set of data that might be indirectly relevant for both propositions of overcontrol and undercontrol is about the size of the school systems under study. The expected relationship between the size of the school and teachers' feelings of alienation is stated in the hypothesis below.

Hypothesis 9. The greater the size of the school, the greater the alienation of teachers from the school system.

The data in Table 36 lend significant support to the proposed relationship. Forty-four percent of the teachers in large schools (i.e., 50 teachers or more), as compared to only 5% of the teachers in small schools (i.e., 19 teachers or less), are highly alienated. Further inspection of this table, however, shows that 81% of the teachers in small schools are either mildly or moderately alienated, and that teachers in medium sized schools (i.e., 30-49 teachers) tend to be less alienated than those who are in relatively smaller schools (i.e., 20-29 teachers). This finding suggests that size might be a complex variable in the sense that a number of other phenomena are associated with it. In the present context, size is at least associated with the school level in that high schools are large and elementary schools are small. Thus,

TABLE 36

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SIZE OF THE SCHOOL AND TEACHERS' ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

	Alienation from the school system				
Size of the school	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 237)
50 or more teachers	4%	20%	32%	44%	71 (100%)
30-49 teachers	24%	41%	21%	13%	94 (99%)
20-29 teachers	16%	24%	33%	27%	51 (100%)
19 or less teachers	14%	43%	38%	5%	21 (100%)

$X^2 = 41.38$; $p <.001$

other variables such as sex, education, and even interpersonal relationships, must be involved. Furthermore, the small number of the schools under study prevented a fair distribution . For instance, there is one school in the first category (i.e., schools having 50 teachers or more).

So far as the suggested indirect relevance for both propositions of overcontrol and undercontrol, size might be a source of both bureaucratization and anomie.

Having looked at the relationships of alienation to the positions of teachers in the school social structure and the size of the schools, the researcher will turn to examine each of the above listed aspects of undercontrol in the remaining sections of this chapter.

A. Normlessness and feelings of alienation

Here, the researcher is concerned with specific normlessness (see pp. 41-42), i.e., normlessness at school. Specifically, the following hypotheses will be tested.

Hypothesis 10a. The more teachers think there is a state of normlessness at school, the more alienated they are from the school system.

Hypothesis 10b. In schools where the majority of teachers agree that there is a state of normlessness at school, there is more alienation than in schools where there is no such agreement.

The data in Tables 37 and 38 significantly confirm the suggested relationship between specific normlessness and feelings of alienation both on individual and school levels. As shown, 54% of those who think there is a high degree of normlessness at school, as compared to 15% of those who think there is a low degree of normlessness, are highly alienated. On the school level, results show a similar trend. In schools where the majority of teachers think there is a low degree of normlessness

TABLE 37

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF NORMLESSNESS AT SCHOOL AND THEIR ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Degree of normlessness	Alienation from the school system None	 Low	 Medium	 High	 Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 67)	(N = 58)	(N = 236)
Low	20%	38%	27%	15%	158 (100%)
Medium	12%	18%	35%	35%	43 (100%)
High	3%	17%	26%	54%	35 (100%)

$X^2 = 33.275$; $p < .001$

TABLE 38

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' AGREEMENT REGARDING DEGREE OF NORMLESSNESS AT SCHOOL AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Agreement	Alienation from the school system None	 Low	 Medium	 High	 Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 237)
On a low degree of normlessness	24%	35%	26%	15%	136 (100%)
No agreement	5%	26%	33%	36%	101 (100%)

$X^2 = 26.15$; $p < .001$

there is less alienation than in those schools where no agreement is reached. Earlier, such lack of agreement was considered as an index of normlessness and was found to be significantly related to feelings of alienation.

B. Uncertainty about educational objectives

The second aspect of undercontrol to be considered in this study has to do with the degree of teachers' agreement regarding the primary objectives towards which effort should be put in their schools (see pp.44-45). Teachers, as pointed out earlier, were asked to choose four out of a list of ten primary objectives towards which effort should be put in their schools and rank them in order of importance. Similarly, teachers were presented with descriptions of four hypothetical schools and were asked to check the one that was most like their school and the one that would, in their opinions, be the most desirable.

How consensus (i.e., 50% of teachers or more agree on two out of the ten objectives) regarding these primary objectives and educational orientations might be related to feelings of alienation is hypothesized below.

Hypothesis 11a. In schools where the majority of teachers agree regarding the primary objectives toward which efforts should be put in their school system, there is less alienation than in schools where there is no such agreement.

Hypothesis 11b. In schools where the majority of teachers agree regarding the aspects of education which are actually emphasized at school, there is less alienation than in schools where there is no such agreement.

As shown in Table 39, the data offer a significant support of the hypothesized relationship that in schools where the majority of teachers agree regarding the primary objectives towards which effort should be put, there is less alienation than in those schools where no such agreement could be reached. For instance, 39% of the teachers in the former schools, as compared to 60% in the latter schools, are either moderately or highly alienated.

The results bearing on hypothesis 11b are reported in Table 40. As shown, the proposed relationship failed to gain significant support. Unfortunately, the present data does not offer clues that explain why these relationships are not statistically significant. The warning repeated earlier regarding the limitation posed by the small number of schools under study might offer some explanation. Otherwise, the present finding would be intriguing, because so far whenever there was a lack of agreement there tended to be some substantial degree of alienation. One possible clue might be the fact that a substantial number of the teachers (i.e., 66 out of 237) did not respond to this question.

C. Cohesiveness and feelings of alienation

Lack of cohesiveness can be considered an index of undercontrol. Durkheim, to mention only one investigator in this area, defined anomie in terms of lack of cohesiveness and explored its relation to suicidal tendencies.

Here, the expectations regarding the relationship between lack of cohesiveness (see pp.39-40) and feelings of alienation are stated in the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 12a. Teachers who see staff relationships as cohesive are less alienated than those who see them as disintegrated or in conflict.

Hypothesis 12b. In schools where there is a diffuse pattern of communication, there is less alienation than in schools where such a pattern is central.

TABLE 39

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' AGREEMENT REGARDING THE PRIMARY OBJECTIVES OF THEIR SCHOOL AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

	Alienation from the school system				
Agreement	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 237)
Agreement	20%	41%	22%	17%	78 (100%)
No agreement	13%	26%	32%	28%	159 (99%)

$X^2 = 10.27$; $p < .025$

TABLE 40

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' AGREEMENT REGARDING ACTUALLY EMPHASIZED EDUCATIONAL ORIENTATIONS AT SCHOOL AND THEIR ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

	Alienation from the school system				
Agreement	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 237)
Agreement	17%	28%	37%	17%	57 (99%)
No agreement	15%	32%	26%	27%	180 (100%)

$X^2 = 3.71$; $p < .30$

Hypothesis 12c. In schools where there is a diffuse pattern of attraction, there is less alienation than in schools where such a pattern is central.

The prediction that lack of cohesiveness is related to feelings of alienation gains significant support (see Tables 41-43). The data in Table 41 show that none of those who see staff relations as cohesive are highly alienated. In contrast, 31% of those who see staff relations as disintegrated are highly alienated.

The results as reported in Table 42 show that in schools where there is a central pattern of communication (see p.41), there tends to be more alienation than in schools where there is a diffuse pattern of communication (i.e., the majority of teachers rather than a few are nominated as communicated with most). This finding can be accounted for by the fact that in a central pattern of communication there are more isolates than in a diffuse pattern.

The data in Table 43 show a similar trend. In schools where the pattern of attraction is diffuse (i.e., many teachers are nominated as liked best), there is less alienation than in schools where the pattern of attraction is central (i.e., few teachers are nominated as liked best).

D. Principal's permissiveness

As pointed out earlier, teachers tend to feel that the principal should have some influence in determining educational matters. A principal who is off-the-stage, nonsupportive, or uninvolved might be as alienating as a principal who tends to centralize power in his office. It is a classical finding that both autocratic and laissez-faire styles of leadership are likely to produce dissatisfaction.

Though the present research is not concerned with styles of

TABLE 41

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF STAFF COHESIVENESS AND THEIR ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Degree of cohesiveness	Alienation from the school system None	 Low	 Medium	 High	 Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 71)	(N = 66)	(N = 55)	(N = 229)
Integration	59%	29%	12%	0%	17 (100%)
Unbalanced conflict	15%	46%	15%	23%	13 (99%)
Balanced conflict	20%	29%	26%	25%	61 (100%)
Dyads and triads	11%	27%	36%	26%	106 (100%)
Disintegration	3%	41%	25%	31%	32 (100%)

$X^2 = 30.62$; $p < .001$

TABLE 42

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPE OF COMMUNICATION PATTERN AND TEACHERS' ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Type of communication pattern	Alienation from the school system				
	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 237)
Diffuse	22%	42%	25%	11%	114 (100%)
Central	10%	21%	33%	36%	123 (100%)

$X^2 = 30.62$; $p <.001$

TABLE 43

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPE OF ATTRACTION PATTERN AND TEACHERS' ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Type of attraction pattern	Alienation from the school system				
	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 237)
Diffuse	20%	41%	29%	10%	51 (100%)
Central	15%	28%	28%	28%	186 (99%)

$X^2 = 8.49$; $p <.05$

leadership, the hypotheses that follow shed some light on the above problem, and, particularly, on the relation of principal's permissiveness to feelings of alienation from the school system.

Hypothesis 13a. The more teachers think that the principal is supportive, the less alienated they are from the school system.

Hypothesis 13b. In schools where the majority of teachers agree that the principal is supportive, there is less alienation than in schools where there is no such agreement.

The data bearing on these hypotheses are reported in Tables 44-45. Here, both relationships are found to be significant and in the predicted direction. As shown in Table 44, fifty-three percent out of those who think the principal shows little supportiveness, as compared to 25% of those who think he is moderately supportive and only 9% of those who think he is highly supportive, are highly alienated.

The same relationship seems to hold on the school level. As shown in Table 45, in those schools where teachers do not reach a consensus (50% or more) regarding the degree of supportiveness of the principal, there is more alienation than in those schools where they reach such a consensus.

E. Dissociation between means and needs or goals

Earlier, it was pointed out that Durkheim and Merton defined normlessness in terms of dissociation between goals and means, i.e., between aspirations and structured avenues for realizing these aspirations.

One instance of dissociation between means and goals in the present study is the discrepancies between actual and desired educational

TABLE 44

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF PRINCIPAL'S SUPPORTIVENESS AND THEIR ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Degree of principal's supportiveness	Alienation from the school system				
	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 36)	(N = 74)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 236)
Low	3%	18%	26%	53%	38 (100%)
Medium	12%	34%	29%	25%	124 (100%)
High	27%	34%	30%	9%	74 (100%)

$X^2 = 33.086; p < .001$

TABLE 45

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' AGREEMENT REGARDING PRINCIPAL'S SUPPORTIVENESS AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Agreement	Alienation from the school system				
	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 37)	(N = 74)	(N = 68)	(N = 58)	(N = 237)
On high degree of supportiveness	27%	27%	35%	11%	26 (100%)
On medium degree of supportiveness	19%	40%	22%	19%	104 (100%)
No agreement	9%	24%	34%	33%	107 (100%)

$X^2 = 18.51; p < .005$

orientations (see pp.43-44), and between actual and desired classroom climates (see pp.42-43). One reason for considering these discrepancies an instance of dissociation between means and goals is that most respondents feel they have little or no influence in implementing their desires. For example, it might be appropriate to suggest that some of the schools under study do not provide the proper avenues for teachers to change the climates of their schools and classrooms. While a school might be most concerned about practical things, teachers might feel that the most important task of the school should be primarily intellectual. Such a discrepancy can be considered an instance of dissociation between means and goals when teachers are not able to change the situation. With this in mind, the following hypotheses can be proposed.

> Hypothesis 14a. The greater the discrepancy between actual and desired educational orientations, the greater the alienation from the school system.
>
> Hypothesis 14b. The greater the discrepancy between actual and desired classroom climates, the greater the alienation from the school system.

The data in Tables 46 and 47 significantly confirm hypotheses 14a and 14b. Results show (see Table 46) that 41%, 57%, and 75% of those who regard actual and desired educational orientations as similar, different, and opposed respectively are either moderately or highly alienated. The same trend is evidenced in Table 47. While none of those who feel there is no discrepancy between the actual and desired climates of their classrooms are highly alienated, 66% of those who feel there is a high degree of discrepancy feel as alienated.

Once again, the researcher would like to draw attention to the strong relationship between feelings of discrepancies between what is

TABLE 46

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF THE MOST ACTUAL AND THE MOST DESIRED EDUCATIONAL ORIENTATIONS AND THEIR ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

	Alienation from the school system				
Discrepancy	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 21)	(N = 60)	(N = 48)	(N = 42)	(N = 171)
Same	14%	45%	33%	8%	72 (100%)
Different	14%	29%	20%	37%	79 (100%)
Opposed	0%	25%	40%	35%	20 (100%)

$X^2 = 22.759; p <.001$

TABLE 47

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISCREPANCY BETWEEN TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF ACTUAL AND DESIRED CLASSROOM CLIMATES AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

	Alienation from the school system				
Degree of discrepancy	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 36)	(N = 72)	(N = 67)	(N = 57)	(N = 232)
None	17%	33%	50%	0%	6 (100%)
Low	16%	41%	27%	16%	110 (100%)
Medium	14%	23%	31%	32%	110 (100%)
High	17%	0%	17%	66%	6 (100%)

$X^2 = 20.706; p <.02$

TABLE 48

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF CONFLICTING ROLES IN THEIR LIFE SPACES AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

	Alienation from the school system				
Perceived roles	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 31)	(N = 66)	(N = 52)	(N = 41)	(N = 190)
Conflicting roles	9%	30%	31%	30%	80 (100%)
Non-conflicting roles	22%	38%	25%	15%	110 (100%)

$X^2 = 11.042; p < .01$

actual and what is ideal and feelings of alienation.

F. Occupancy of conflicting roles and feelings of alienation

A final aspect of undercontrol to be considered here is teachers' perception that they occupy conflicting roles. In the present investigation, teachers were asked to indicate to what extent they had been active in such areas as education, family, politics, religion, recreation, etc., and whether or not they found any of these activities conflicting with each other.

How perception of engaging in conflicting activities might be related to feelings of alienation from the school system is suggested in the hypothesis below.

> Hypothesis 15. Teachers who see themselves as occupying conflicting roles are more alienated from the school system than those who do not see themselves as occupying such roles.

The data bearing on this hypothesis are reported in Table 48. As shown, the hypothesized relationship is directionally and statistically significant.

In summary, then, it can be concluded that support is given to the researcher's second central proposition that undercontrol (i.e., states of normlessness, uncertainty about educational objectives, lack of cohesiveness, principal's permissiveness, dissociation between means and goals, occupancy of conflicting roles, etc.) is likely to be related to feelings of alienation from the school system. Again, the researcher would like to warn against unwarranted generalization of the present findings. Different conclusions might be reached if similar investigations are conducted in different systems and different cultures.

CHAPTER VII

ALIENATION AT THE BEHAVIORAL LEVEL

This chapter will be mainly devoted to the analysis and discussion of the data on alienation as reflected in the teachers' performance. An attempt will be made also to touch lightly on personal characteristics of alienated teachers, and on the generalization of feelings of alienation.

It was emphasized in Chapter II of this study that alienation would be viewed as a process of three main stages. So far, the researcher has dealt with the first two stages of alienation, i.e., alienation at the social and normative level, and on the attitudinal level.

With respect to the final stage, the point was made that feelings of alienation from a system or an organization might be reflected in certain activities which could be conceptualized, for analytical purposes, on a retreatism-involvement continuum. Simply, one may either retreat from, comply with, or act upon the social system he is alienated from.

Thus, the question can be raised as to whether alienated teachers in this study tend to retreat from, comply with, or act upon their school systems. One way of responding to this question would be to find out to what extent alienated teachers engage in adoption, adaptation, and innovation of teaching practices. Another way would be to find out whether or not these teachers serve on committees at school. A third way would be to find out whether or not alienated teachers are more likely to return to the same school than non-alienated teachers. The expected relationships in these areas are hypothesized below.

Hypothesis 16a. There is a positive relationship between alienation and non-adoption of teaching practices.

Hypothesis 16b. There is a curvilinear relationship between alienation and adoption of teaching practices.

Hypothesis 16c. There is a negative relationship between alienation and adaptation of teaching practices.

Hypothesis 16d. There is a curvilinear relationship between alienation and innovation of teaching practices.

Hypothesis 16e. There is a negative relationship between alienation and intention of returning to the same school.

Hypothesis 16f. There is a negative relationship between alienation and serving on committees at school.

The data reported in Tables 49-52 lend support to hypotheses 16a, 16b, 16c, 16e, and 16f, but not to 16d. The data bearing on hypothesis 16a are reported in Tables 49 and 50. As shown in Table 49, those who reported that they had been using significant practices for improving pupil learning or motivation to learn tended to be less alienated than the rest. The moderately and the highly alienated seem to be less inclined to use such teaching practices. As shown, 28%, 26%, 40% and 50% of those who are non-alienated, mildly alienated, moderately alienated, and highly alienated respectively are non-adoptors. In other words, the relationship between non-adoption of significant practices and feelings of alienation tends to be positive and linear (see figure 2,p. 105).

Table 50 reports the same data in a more detailed form. Those who reported that they had not been using any significant teaching practices were labelled as non-adopters. Those who reported that they had been using significant practices were divided into adopters, adapters, and innovators depending on whether they borrowed the most significant practices they had been using from somewhere else with or without making major changes, or they invented them themselves (i.e., original with them as far as they know).

As predicted in hypothesis 16b, there seems to be a curvilinear relationship between adoption and alienation (see figure 2, p. 105). The data in Table 50 show that 9%, 18%, 25%, and 15% of those who are non-alienated, mildly alienated, moderately alienated, and highly alienated respectively, are adoptors. In other words, adoptors tend to be mostly moderately alienated. They might be similar to ritualists to whom change is a source of anxiety. Another explanation might be that because adoptors are mostly moderately alienated, they do not engage in activities that require much effort. In short, they adopt out of compliance.

The data in Table 50 lend significant support to hypothesis 16c. As shown, the relationship between adaptation and alienation tends to be negative and linear (see figure 2, p. 105).

The finding regarding the relationship between innovation and alienation seems to be more complex. Unexpectedly, this relationship turned out to be a reversed j-shape. A substantial number of those who are highly alienated (i.e., 23%) are innovators.

At this point, the researcher finds it pertinent to examine the relationship of teachers' alienation and their performance in terms of

TABLE 49

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REPORTED TRYING OUT OF SIGNIFICANT TEACHING PRACTICES AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Degree of alienation	Trying out of teaching practices Yes	 No	 Total
	(N = 139)	(N = 78)	(N = 217)
None	72%	28%	36 (100%)
Low	74%	26%	69 (100%)
Medium	60%	40%	60 (100%)
High	50%	50%	52 (100%)

$x^2 = 8.845; p < .05$

TABLE 50

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INNOVATION OF TEACHING PRACTICES AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Degree of alienation	Innovation - adoption Non-adoptors	 Adoptors	 Adapters	 Innovators	 Total
	(N = 78)	(N = 36)	(N = 42)	(N = 49)	(N = 205)
None	28%	9%	28%	34%	35 (99%)
Low	27%	18%	29%	26%	66 (100%)
Medium	43%	25%	16%	16%	56 (100%)
High	54%	15%	8%	23%	48 (100%)

$x^2 = 23.89; p < .005$

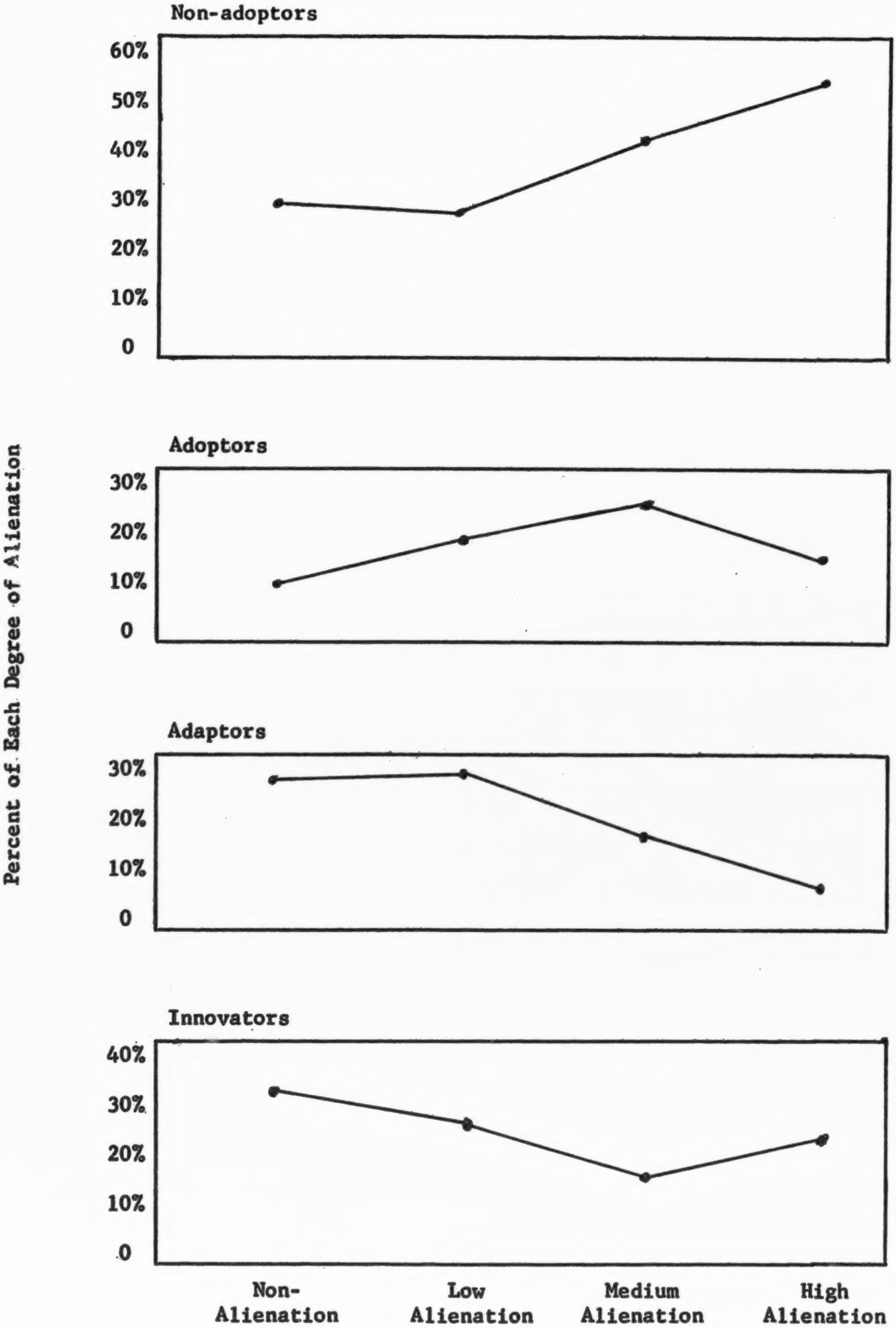


FIGURE 2

COMPARISON BETWEEN TRENDS OF NON-ADOPTERS, ADOPTERS, ADAPTERS, AND INNOVATORS AS A FUNCTION OF THEIR DEGREE OF ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM retreat from, compliance with, and acting upon the system. The non-alienated and the mildly alienated are more likely to act upon the system through adaptation and innovation. The moderately alienated comply with the system through adoption of teaching practices.

The little effort they exert might be considered a sign of compliance rather than internalization or identification. Finally, if non-adoption can be considered an index of non-involvement, it might be relevant to conclude that highly alienated teachers tend most frequently to retreat from the system. However, some of those who are highly alienated are innovators. Few of them tend to be adoptors or adaptors. Thus, it seems that those who are highly alienated tend most frequently to retreat, next to act, and least to comply.

The data in Table 51 provide further evidence of the tendency of the highly alienated to retreat from the system. Sixty-eight percent of those who pointed out that they did not intend to return to the same school, as compared to 49% of those who pointed out that they intended to return to the same school, are either moderately or highly alienated. In other words, those who are highly alienated tend to physically "leave the field."

Still further evidence of the tendency of the highly alienated to retreat is given by the data reported in Table 52. As shown, 31% of those who do not serve on any committees at school, as compared to 14% of those who serve on two or more committees, tend to be highly alienated.

Next, this chapter will attempt to look at some personal predispositons of alienated teachers. As shown in Table 53, males tend to

TABLE 51

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' INTENTIONS TO RETURN TO THE SAME SCHOOL OR NOT AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Returning to the same school	Alienation from the school system None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N =35)	(N = 73)	(N = 66)	(N = 56)	(N = 230)
Yes	19%	32%	26%	23%	179 (100%)
No	0%	31%	39%	29%	51 (99%)

$X^2 = 13.19$; $p < .005$

TABLE 52

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' SERVICE ON COMMITTEES AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Serving on committees	Alienation from the school system None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 34)	(N = 70)	(N = 61)	(N = 54)	(N = 219)
None	6%	31%	32%	31%	121 (100%)
One committee	21%	35%	26%	18%	62 (100%)
Two or more committees	39%	30%	17%	14%	63 (100%)

$X^2 = 29.20$; $p < .001$

be more alienated than females. What accounts for this finding might be the fact that males constitute the minority in these schools, or that teaching is more and more becoming a female career.

Age seems also to have some relevance. Those who are between 30 and 50 years of age seem to be more alienated than the rest of the teachers. One explanation of why this is so might be that at this age it becomes more difficult for teachers to retire or to transfer to other careers. Another explanation might be that teachers at this age are likely to have more responsibilities outside the school system than the rest of their colleagues. Another reason might be that older teachers might occupy more central and secure positions; or they might have developed efficient defensive mechanisms with time. One might also be able to explain this finding on the basis of the cognitive dissonance theory in that those who spent most of their life teaching cannot afford to be alienated from this career for long.

Education seems to be another relevant variable. Contrary to expectation, those who have an M.A. tend to be more alienated than those who have a B.A. This relationship was found to hold even when control was made on the school level. In other words, those who have an M.A. tend to be more alienated in senior high schools, junior high schools, and elementary schools. Here, a number of explanations can be offerred. Teachers who have an M.A. might feel that they are out of place and overqualified. They might view their teaching career as temporary. Another explanation might be that those who have an M.A. are likely to be more concerned about their right to autonomy and authority.

Finally, religious preference appears to be related to feelings of alienation from the school system. The data in Table 53 show that

TABLE 53

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOME PERSONAL DISPOSITIONS AND ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Personal dispositions	Alienation from the school system				
	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
Sex					
Males	15%	27%	26%	32%	93 (100%)
Females	16%	34%	31%	19%	141 (100%)
Age					
29 years or less	12%	36%	28%	24%	104 (100%)
30-40 years	15%	27%	29%	29%	34 (100%)
41-50 years	23%	18%	27%	32%	22 (100%)
51-59 years	24%	33%	29%	14%	21 (100%)
60 years or more	14%	43%	43%	0%	7 (100%)
Education					
BA	16%	34%	27%	23%	160 (100%)
MA	14%	26%	31%	29%	70 (100%)
Religious preference					
Protestants	15%	39%	29%	17%	142 (100%)
Catholics	15%	30%	18%	37%	33 (100%)
Jews	14%	0%	29%	57%	7 (100%)
Others	12%	6%	44%	38%	16 (100%)
Marital status					
Married	17%	31%	27%	25%	174 (100%)
Single	13%	29%	42%	16%	38 (100%)
Widowed or divorced	6%	44%	22%	28%	18 (100%)

Catholics, Jews, and others tend to be more alienated from the school system than Protestants. The explanation could reside in the fact that Catholics, Jews, and others constitute the minority in the schools under investigation. Another explanation might be based on Weber's notion of protestant ethics. Thus, one might suggest that protestants are more likely to draw satisfaction from their work than the other religious groups. One might also suggest that non-protestants might be more inclined to legitimize their isolation.

To conclude, it is apparent from the above brief review of personal dispositions that the social and normative conditions of the school systems are closely intertwined with personal factors. In fact, it would be safe to say that these conditions might account for the above findings.

In the remaining part of the present chapter the association between specific and general feelings of alienation will be examined. Much of the literature in this area calls for differentiation between these two types of alienation. The significant question to raise here, then, seems to be to what extent alienation from the school system is independent from general alienation (i.e., alienation from the society or the world at large).

Recently, Seeman examined the consequences of alienation from work using a random sample of the male work force in a Swedish community. Specifically, he examined the notion advanced by such critics of modern industrial society as R. Blauner, P. Goodman, H. Arendt, C.W. Mills and S.M. Lipset, to mention a few, that alienation from work eventuates in alienation from the society. For instance, R. Blauner suggests that "the nature of a man's work affects his social character and personality, the manner in which he participates or fails to participate as a citizen in the larger community, and his overall sense of worth and dignity" (1964, p.viii). Seeman (1965) finds out that alienation from work does not eventuate, as suggested by the above investigators, in intergroup hostility, anomia, political withdrawal, status seeking, and a sense of powerlessness. In other words, the data collected by Seeman fail to confirm the "generalization hypothesis".

To shed some light on the above issue, the following hypotheses can be tested in the present investigation.

Hypothesis 17a. There is a positive relationship between alienation from the school system and general alienation.

Hypothesis 17b. There is a positive relationship between alienation from the school system and general normlessness.

The data in Tables 54 and 55 lend significant support to both hypothesized relationships. Table 54 shows that 38% of those who are highly alienated from society or the world at large, as compared to 10% of those who are non-alienated, are highly alienated from the school system. Similarly, Table 55 shows that 57% of those who perceive a high degree of normlessness in society or the world at large, as compared to 13% of those who perceive no such normlessness, are highly alienated from the school system.

In short, the present data seem to support the "generalization hypothesis". However, the direction of causation and the possibility of differences in cross-cultural studies await further investigation.

TABLE 54

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM AND THEIR ALIENATION FROM THE SOCIETY OR THE WORLD AT LARGE

Degree of alienation from society or the world	Alienation from the school system				
	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 36)	(N = 73)	(N =66)	(N = 53)	(N = 228)
None	45%	20%	25%	10%	20 (100%)
Low	15%	34%	31%	20%	144 (100%)
Medium	11%	32%	23%	34%	56 (100%)
High	0%	25%	38%	38%	8 (101%)

$X^2 = 21.09; p <.01$

TABLE 55

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF NORMLESSNESS IN SOCIETY OR THE WORLD AT LARGE AND THEIR ALIENATION FROM THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Degree of perceived normlessness in society or the world	Alienation from the school system				
	None	Low	Medium	High	Total
	(N = 36)	(N = 73)	(N = 66)	(N = 53)	(N = 228)
None	40%	27%	20%	13%	30 (100%)
Low	14%	36%	32%	18%	146 (100%)
Medium	7%	24%	29%	40%	45 (100%)
High	0%	29%	14%	57%	7 (100%)

$X^2 = 29.748; p <.001$

To summarize, it can be concluded that feelings of alienation from the school system are reflected in teachers' performance; that social and normative structures are intertwined with personal dispositions in so far as they are related to feelings of alienation; and that the present data support the "generalization hypothesis".

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present research is a part of a project conducted at The Center for Research on the Utilization of Scientific Knowledge at the University of Michigan for the purpose of studying some of the forces that facilitate and hinder such processes as sharing, adoption, diffusion, and innovation of classroom practices. During the spring of 1965, a survey was conducted in three school systems consisting of three senior high schools, three junior high schools, and fifteen elementary schools. In the present research the data on teachers in three senior high schools, three junior high schools, and three elementary schools were reported.

Two central propositions have constituted the targets of the present research. These propositions may be conceived of as two poles of a basic dilemma which has its roots in integrative and alienative forces in society. It is a question of relating oneself to others, taking account of their expectations, and conforming to the norms and rules of the society or organizations without loosing one's autonomy, freedom, uniqueness, and creativity.

The researcher has argued that both states of overcontrol and undercontrol eventuate in alienation. Specifically, the first proposition suggests that overcontrol (which refers to a state of overintegration or great emphasis on molding man into some kind of a bureaucratized system) is likely to be related to alienation from that system. The second proposition suggests that undercontrol (which is defined in terms of normlessness, uncertainty about goals, and/or lack of cohesive interpersonal relationships in a society or a social system) is likely to be related to alienation from that system.

These two propositions have been examined in a number of school systems. Teachers' feelings of alienation have been related to the schools' social and normative structures on one hand, and to their performance on the other. Thus, alienation from the school has been viewed as a process of three main stages or levels:

A. Alienation at the social and normative structures level
B. Alienation as an attitudinal tendency
C. Alienation at the behavioral level

The first stage involves the social and normative structures of the school system. At this level, feelings of alienation (i.e., feelings of powerlessness, isolation, non-involvement in activities that go on at school, and dissatisfaction) were related to:

A. States of overcontrol
    1. Centralization of power in the administration
    2. Impersonal relationships
    3. Demand for conformity
B. States of undercontrol
    1. Normlessness or anomie
    2. Lack of cohesiveness
    3. Principal's permissiveness
    4. Dissociation of means and goals
    5. Occupancy of conflicting roles

The data presented in part two of this study significantly confirmed the researcher's first central proposition that overcontrol at school or great emphasis on (a) centralization of power in the administration, (b) great demand for conformity, and (c) impersoanl relationships is likely to be related to teachers' feelings of alienation from that school system. Here, however, the researcher called attention to the importance of limiting such a generalization to the school systems under examination.

The data also significantly supported the researcher's second proposition. States of undercontrol at school (i.e., states of normlessness, uncertainty about educational objectives, lack of cohesiveness of interpersonal relations, principal's permissiveness, dissociation between means and goals, occupation of conflicting roles, etc.) were found to be related to feelings of alienation from the school system. Again, the researcher has warned against unwarranted generalization of the present findings to other systems.

The second stage of alienation involves attitudinal tendencies. Simply, it is experiencing relatively enduring feelings of powerlessness, isolation, noninvolvement, and dissatisfaction.

The third stage of alienation is sought at the behavioral level. Feelings of alienation may be reflected in a number of activities which may be viewed on a retreatism-involvement dimension. For instance, an attempt had been made in this study to find out to what extent alienated teachers tend to retreat from, comply with, and act upon their school systems.

The data supported the researcher's contention that feelings of alienation from the school system are reflected in teachers' performance.

The data showed that the greater the feelings of alienation of teachers the greater the non-adoption of teaching practices. The relationship between adoption and feelings of alienation was found to be curvilinear. With respect to the relationship between adaptation and alienation, it tended to be negative and linear. Unexpectedly, the relationship between innovation and feelings of alienation turned out to be a reversed j-shape, because a substantial number of innovators were found to be highly alienated. The data also showed that (a) the mildly alienated tended to act upon the system; (b) the moderately alienated tended to comply through adoption; and (c) the highly alienated teachers tended most frequently to retreat from, next to act upon, and least to comply with the school systems. Finally, one of the important findings of the present research is that specific and general feelings of alienation tended to be highly related.

The researcher would like to conclude this study by pointing out that the generalization of the present findings to other systems, especially in different cultures, is unwarranted. A more generalized conclusion awaits further cross-system and cross-cultural investigations.

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